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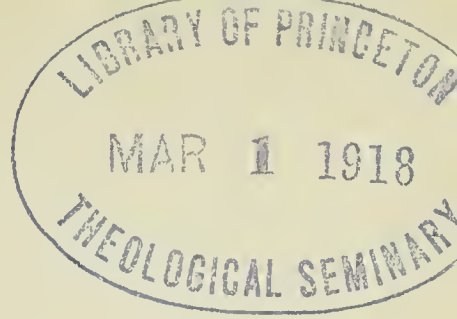
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EUPHEMIA AND THE GOTH

WITH THE ACTS OF MARTYRDOM
OF THE CONFESSORS OF EDESSA
EDITED AND EXAMINED BY

F. C. BURKITT

Hon. D.D. Edinburgh, Dublin, St. Andrews; D. Theol. h.c. Breslau.

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1913

EUPHEMIA AND THE GOTH

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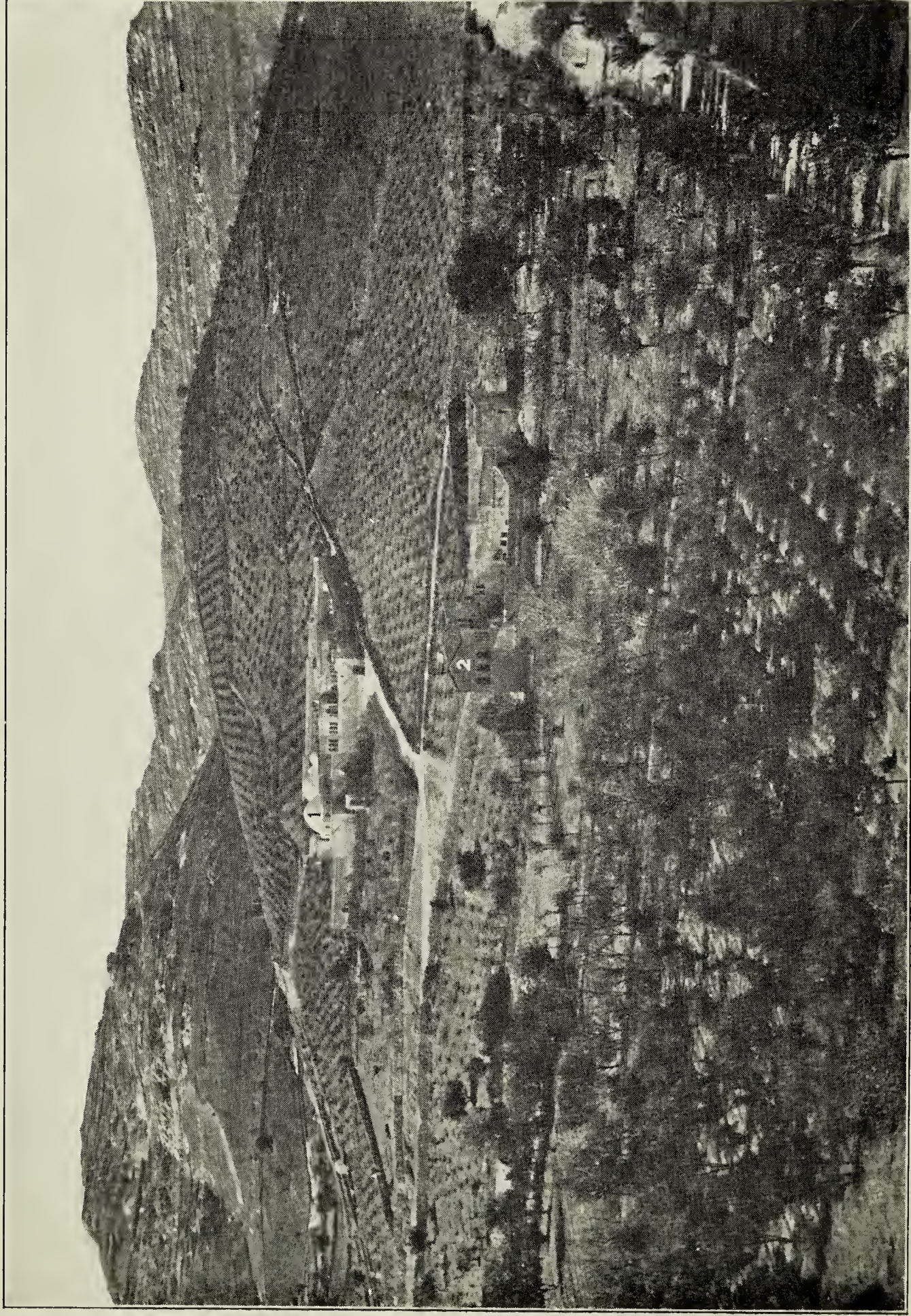
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ERRATA.

- p. 53, l. 10 for promites read promises
p. 73, l. 15 „ thans „ thanks
p. 73, l. 28 „ chanced „ chanced
-

- p. 12_{6 20} for **אשאלל** read **אשאלל**
and add note to l. 6 **אשאלל**] N **אשאלל**: see p. 175.
p. 11₉ for **היבדח** read **היבדח**
p. 12₂₄ for **אשאלל** read **אשאלל**
p. 10₁₉ for see p. read see p. 72
p. 15₁₅ for I read 2
p. 17₁₇ for **אשאלל** read **אשאלל**
p. 8₈ for **אשאלל** read **אשאלל**
-



VIEW FROM NEAR THE WEST GATE OF EDESSA.

- 1. S. Theodore (reputed tomb of Ephraim Syrus).
- 2. Modern private house.
- 3. Direction of Beth Alah Kikla.

INTRODUCTION.

On the West side of the city of Urfa, the ancient Edessa, outside the walls, to the North of the Citadel with the great twin pillars, lies the Convent of S. Sergius, containing the reputed grave of Ephraim Syrus. Behind the Convent is a rounded hill, now for the most part cultivated, which forms a sort of step to the bare heights beyond. Somewhere to the North of this hill, across the modern bed of the river Daişan, must have been the spot known in ancient times as Beth Alah Kikla. On that spot, just over sixteen hundred years ago, two Christian martyrs, named Shmona and Guria, were executed together. Less than a year afterwards another Christian, a Deacon named Habbib, was burnt alive not far from the West Gate of the city. It was shortly before the publication of the Edict of toleration for Christians, and Habbib was the last victim in Edessa.

The three martyrs were buried together, and (in later times at least) their bones were preserved in the same Coffin. Over the Coffin a church was built, known to succeeding generations as the Shrine of the Confessors (*Beth Maudiānē*). At this Shrine, about a century after the martyrdoms, a notable miracle was believed to have been performed by the virtue of the Confessors for the benefit of one Euphemia, a well-born girl from Edessa who had been betrayed by a Goth, a soldier in the Byzantine service.

The texts edited in this volume give the story of the Martyrdoms and of the Miracle in the original language and in what is believed to be as near as possible the original forms. Of these, the story of Euphemia and the Goth was published for the first time in the original Syriac by F. Nau in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, vol. XV (1910), pp. 66—72, 173—181, with a French translation (pp. 182—191), as I discovered when this book was already in print. The Martyrdom of Shmona and Guria was first published in Syriac by Rahmani in 1899, and that of Ḥabbib by Cureton, in the book known as *Ancient Syriac Documents*, in 1864.

Last year, in 1911, my friend Professor Ernst v. Dobschütz, of Breslau, edited from the collections of Oscar v. Gebhardt and his own researches the Greek and other Versions of these three documents ¹⁾, a most valuable and instructive work, which the present volume will by no means supersede. The relation in which the two works stand to one another is best explained by the note which stands on the last page of Professor v. Dobschütz's book. When I was at Breslau for the Centenary of the University, in August, 1911, and for the first time heard that these documents were being edited, I found that v. Gebhardt had been unaware of the existence of a Syriac text of *Euphemia* and that Prof. v. Dobschütz had not subsequently come across it. It was too late to insert it, for the book was already

1) The full title is: Die Akten der Edessenischen Bekenner GURJAS, SAMONAS und ABIBOS aus dem Nachlass von Oscar von Gebhardt herausgegeben von Ernst von Dobschütz (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1911). *Texte und Untersuchungen* (3rd Series) 372. I quote the book as v. Dobschütz.

passed for press, so all that could be done was to add a Note (p. 264), in which v. Dobschütz says with reference to his statement on p. L that no Syriac text of *Euphemia* was known: "Durch Professor F. C. Burkitt werde ich nachträglich darauf aufmerksam, dass doch ein syrischer Text des *Thauma* in Br. Mus. add. 14649 (9. Jahrh.) Bl. 114^a vorliegt (s. Wright's Catalogue III 1109^b). Die hoffentlich bald zu erwartende Ausgabe von Professor Burkitt wird zeigen, ob es sich dabei um das Original oder um Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen handelt, wie sicherlich bei manchen andern Texten dieser Handschrift".

The preparation of this present volume has taken longer than I anticipated, but it could never have been published at all if it had not been preceded by the labours of v. Gebhardt and v. Dobschütz. I had known of the Syriac text of *Euphemia* for some time and had intended to publish it, but I had also become aware of some of the complexity of form exhibited by the Greek versions and despaired of finding time to investigate the matter adequately. All this has now been done, and done so well that there is no need to go over the work again. The relation of the Greek texts to one another, their relative value, the reconstruction of the two recensions, — on all these points I can only express my gratitude to my predecessors and my admiration of the skill and thoroughness with which their work has been carried out.

But on two important points I remain unconvinced, and it is with these two points that my book is mainly concerned. I venture to regard the Syriac text of the story of *Euphemia* as primitive and the Greek published

by v. Dobschütz as altogether secondary and derivative ¹). And further, I desire to set forth at some length the reasons which still lead me to consider the story of the martyrdoms of Shmona and Guria, and of Ḥabbib as genuine history, as being in all essentials the work of an eyewitness. The investigation leads to some rather complicated questions of chronology, of the topography of Edessa, and of the exegesis of the Acts of martyrdom. I can only hope that some of the interest which I have felt in the work may be communicated to my readers.

1) I am glad to find that Prof. Nau (p. 65) also regards the Syriac as the original, but it is evident that he only had access to the inferior Greek MSS of the tale (see his ed., p. 182, note 7, and p. 188, note 1).

ON THE HISTORICITY OF THE EDESSENE MARTYRS.

The object of the following pages is to maintain the general historicity of the Acts of Shmona and Guria and of Ḥabbib, as recorded in the documents printed in this book. That such a defence is necessary will be made clear by the following extracts from v. Dobschütz's chapter on the Historical Value of these Acts ¹).

"The Acts", says v. Dobschütz, "give themselves out as the work of Theophilus, a Roman official then living in Edessa.

"The Patriarch Rahmani has energetically championed the complete genuineness of the Acts; a similar verdict before and after his time has been given by Baronius, Mössinger, Bedjan, Bickell, R. Duval, Mkertschian, Conybeare, Burkitt. On the other hand A. Heisenberg (*Byz. Zeitschrift* IX, 1901, 581*f*) has brought forward the historical difficulties and Th. Nöldeke has pointed out the worthlessness (*den geschichtlichen Unwert*) of the whole group of documents, which appears most clearly when they are examined together ²). One may confi-

1) v. Dobschütz, pp. XLIV—XLIX. I add a few criticisms by the way in square brackets.

2) [Th. Nöldeke in *Strassburger Festschrift zur XLVI Versammlung Deutscher Philologen* (1901), pp. 13—22].

dently maintain that from one and the same pen came first our two *Acts*, and then the Acts of Sharbel and of Barsamya, the scene of which is laid in the time of Trajan. There is indeed a reference to these at the end of *Habbib*, but they represent a yet further stage of development¹). *Sharbel* is actually cited in *Barsamya*.

“It is possible, even to a certain degree probable, that in the proper Names real reminiscences of Martyrs of the age of Diocletian and Licinius are preserved. Such names, together with those of the villages from whence they came, are generally not invented. In addition we may perhaps accept the locality of the martyrdoms and the manner of it (beheading for Guria and Shmona, burning for *Habbib*). But that is all that can pass for historical.

“The dates with which they start are very precarious: the consular date given in *G. & S.* 1, viz. *Diocletiano VIII Maximiano VI coss.*, must be corrected either to *Diocl. VII Maxim. VI = 299 A.D.*, or to *Diocl. VIII Maxim. VII = 303 A.D.*; the 14th year of Diocletian’s reign is 297 A.D.; if we take the mention of the 19th year as a correction it only brings us to 302/3; 615

1) [So also Nöldeke who says (p. 16: “In the Acts laid in Trajan’s time we find naturally (*begreiflicherweise*) yet grosser offences against history than in those laid in the time of Diocletian.” Is there not here a slight confusion of thought? If both sets of Acts be regarded as fundamentally historical, then of course *begreiflicherweise* is appropriate. But Professor Nöldeke wished to demonstrate that both sets of tales are fictitious. In that case I do not see why the offences against history should be less gross in the Diocletianic Acts. The Acts of the Forty Martyrs at Sebaste belong to the time of Licinius, and their “offences against history” are as great as those in *Sharbel* (see the excellent discussion in F. Görres, *Untersuchungen über die Licinianische Christenverfolgung* (1875), pp. 104—115). F.C.B.]

A. Gr. ¹) is, for November, 303 A.D. (618 A.Gr. = 306). As a matter of fact, Diocletian's Edict against the Manichees may be placed about 297, his order enforcing Sacrifice 302, the outbreak of the great Persecution February 303. Some of the martyrdoms mentioned in *S. & G.* § 5 did not take place till 309, e. g. that of Pamphilus.

“Still less are the dates in *Habbib* 1 consistent. *Constantino et Licinio coss.* fits 312, 313, 315 and 319, the “Licinius” of this last year being the son of Licinius the Emperor, who was made Consul when four years old. The clause “i.e. the year in which he was born” points to 315 A.D., but the consul of 315 was Licinius *père*. Moreover the persecution under Licinius did not begin before 322....

“The beginning and end of Ḳonna's episcopate is unknown: from the Edessene Chronicle we learn only that he laid the foundations of the Church at Edessa in 313.

“The synchronisms of Bishops in *S. & G.* 68 must have been taken from some Chronicle; besides, they are inconsistent, *viz.*

Ḳonna of Edessa	<i>alive</i> 313.
Hymenaeus of Jerusalem	267? — 300?
Gaius of Rome	283—296.
Theonas of Alexandria	282? — 301?
Tyrannus of Antioch	<i>died</i> 310....

“The term ‘Daughters of the Covenant’ (*Bnāth Kyāmā*),

1) [That the “Seleucid” era is described in our documents as the year of Alexander of Macedon proves nothing: see the end of Aphraates, *Demonstr.* XXIII. F.C.B.]

if really used for Nuns, may be taken as a sign of later composition. Dedicated Virgins," adds v. Dobschütz, "were a Christian institution, both in the East and in the West, from the 2nd century onwards, if not from the days of Paul ¹).

"The apparatus is in all these Martyrdoms the same: we have the fanatical Governor, Mysianos or Musonios here, Lysianos there; the notary Avitos here, the Captain of the Watch Theoteknos there; also an unnamed shorthand writer here and the inevitable executioner, the writer Theophilus there ²).

"The tortures in detail flogging *with cowhide whips* (ταυρέαι); the 'Combs'; the hanging by one hand; bending and straining the knee ³); the *red-hot balls of lead under the armpits*; the *glowing gridiron*, and other details — all these recur in the martyrdom of Sharbel, only in a yet severer form ⁴). It is true that in our Acts, in contrast to those of S. George and similar ones, some appearance of possibility is maintained. The imprisonment in the dungeon is somewhat relaxed after the first three days; the original form of the Acts knows nothing of a three-months' starvation.

"The resultless dialogue between the Judge and the

1) [The Syriac MS (15th cent.) adds the word for "cloistered nuns." but this addition was evidently absent from the text from which the Greek versions were made: see below, pp. 17, 22.]

2) [Theophilus is the writer both in *S. & G.* and in *H.* On the alleged "fanaticism" of the Governor, see below, pp. 19—21. F.C.B.]

3) [On *S. & G.* 35, see the Note on the passage].

4) [I have marked with italics the tortures which in *S. & G.* 19 are only *threatened*. The "severer form" of actual infliction is peculiar to *Sharbel*. The "Combs" are mentioned several times in Eusebius' *Martyrs of Palestine*: there is, I fear, no doubt that they were often employed.]

Martyrs is simply part of the 'common form' of this kind of *Acts*: that the Gods are no Gods, that the tortures are nothing compared with eternal torment, that the Emperors are only men, that one must obey God rather than men — in all this there is not a single original thought ¹)

"That the author gives his name and calls himself an eyewitness belongs also to the style"

After one or two remarks on some details, Professor v. Dobschütz concludes (p. L): "The date of composition is placed by Lipsius, with whom Nöldeke agrees (*Festschrift*, p. 19), in the last third of the Fourth Century ('not earlier than about 360'). If Ephraim (d. 373) really knew these Acts, that is perhaps a little too late. On the other side, Eusebius *On the Martyrs of Palestine* (312; 2nd ed. 323 A.D.) or rather the Syriac translation of Eusebius, is a *terminus a quo*. They can in no case be earlier than 340 A.D."

That is the case for regarding the Acts of Shmona and Guria, and of Habbib, as unhistorical. The arguments, as in all such questions, are of various weight, but some of them are undoubtedly formidable. It is, for instance, quite clear that the opening paragraphs of the two works cannot have been written down by a contemporary as they stand, and the textual evidence does not suggest mere errors in transcription. Further, we

1) [If we had accurate Reports, would they contain "original thoughts"? How is it that "Theophilus" has avoided the technical phrases of post-Nicene theology, that have slipped into the mouth of Sharbel? See p. 25. F.C.B.]

have to consider whether the points of resemblance between our Acts and the admittedly untrustworthy Acts of Sharbel and of Barsamya do not seriously damage their historical credibility.

For the sake of clearness I will define at once the conclusion to which I venture to think the evidence seems to point. I accept the date 360, or thereabouts, for the present form of all four Acts. But I believe that "Theophilus" was a historical personage, and that his contemporary account of Shmona and Guria and of Habbib survives practically intact, when the extraneous chronological matter has been removed.

Let us begin by reminding ourselves that Shmona, Guria, and Habbib are historical personages. At least, an overwhelming mass of evidence points in that direction. Whether the accounts of their martyrdom which we possess are historical in detail is another question, but we have little reason for disbelieving in the Martyrs themselves. Their names duly appear in the famous Syriac Martyrology, Shmona and Guria on Nov. 15, and Habbib on Sep. 2, with the additional note that Habbib underwent martyrdom by fire. This document was actually penned at Edessa in 411 A.D., hardly a century after the martyrs suffered. All three martyrs are mentioned by S. Ephraim (i.e. before 373) as patrons of Edessa and as persons whose festival is kept there, and no others are so mentioned. They are, in fact, the only persons alleged to have been killed at Edessa during the whole "Diocletian persecution". Their names do not lend themselves to mythological or ritual derivations. Finally, the extant accounts of their deaths,

though (as we have seen) they contain certain difficulties and discrepancies, are by comparison with many Acts of Martyrs neither unnatural nor incredible.

Certain of the *Acta Martyrum* appear to be historical in the strictest sense. The oldest texts of the trial of S. Cyprian and of the Scillitan Martyrs, for instance, appear to be accurate excerpts from the official Reports. The same may be said of the account of the trial of Justin Martyr. At the other end of the scale come the more numerous narratives, of which the Acts of SS. Florus and Laurus may be taken as a type, where the historical basis appears to be *nil*, and the saints themselves have been discovered to be nothing more than a Christianised form of a previously existing local cult. Between these extremes are many intermediate forms, and in the case of genuinely historical martyrs we often find that the piety of later narrators has so overlaid the bare original account that the historical figure can with difficulty be discerned behind it. In the case of the Scillitan Martyrs, for instance, the later forms have lost much of the freshness and simplicity of the original¹).

The usual procedure is to add to the glory of the martyrs by increasing their tortures and lengthening their conversations with the heathen judge. The result is indeed miraculous. Nothing can stop the martyr's talk, until it is almost a relief to hear that, as in the case of Habbib, the judge commands a gag to be put in his mouth while he is being led away to execution.

This form of literature must have been perilously easy to manufacture. It is also easy to reverse the process

1) See Robinson's *Perpetua*, p. 118 ff.

in our modern criticism of the tales, to diminish the amount of torture inflicted and to cut out much of the talk. But this does not necessarily give us a true account of what happened. We have to ask whether anything remains, whether the narrative be historical at all, whether any points seem to resist analysis.

The Acts of Habbib and of Shmona and Guria profess to have been drawn up by one Theophilus. He professes to have been an eyewitness of their deaths — not, be it noted, of all the trials — and the account of Shmona and Guria he professes to have written down five days after the execution. It was, in fact, the steadfastness of Shmona and Guria that determined him to be a Christian, though he does not claim to have declared himself one until the persecution was over (§ 69).

The main question before us is the historical existence of this Theophilus and his good faith. The discrepancies and inconsistencies of the chronological data pointed out by Nöldeke and v. Dobschütz shew that we cannot believe the whole narrative as it stands to have been written down at the time. What reasons are there for believing any part of the story?

It is of course extremely difficult to prove that any narrative is historical, especially if we feel ourselves at liberty to credit the author with some degree of literary tact or historical imagination. But these gifts are not usually conspicuous in the writers of the Martyrdom-literature, and I do not see why "Theophilus" should be any exception. It is not merely the absence of technical "miracle" that arrests attention in the story of the Edessene martyrs: besides this there is a certain naturalness and a tone of real feeling that is extremely rare

in this class of writings. It is a feature which seems to me to indicate the historical genuineness of at least part of the account. Especially is this the case with the story of the actual execution of Shmona and Guria (§§ 56—67), the very scene that “Theophilus” claims to have witnessed and that influenced him to become a Christian. This simple narrative is unadorned and impressive. It is in *our* taste, the taste that prefers above everything a plain report; it is *not* in the taste of the Martyrdom-literature, which cares little for historical accuracy or probability and is never satisfied until the pains of the sufferers have been increased beyond human endurance. What I mean can best be explained by comparing the scene in *Shmona and Guria* with that in *Sharbel* ¹⁾.

*Shmona and Guria.**Sharbel.*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>§ 55. The executioner takes away Shmona and Guria with a small guard by night, to avoid tumult.</p> | <p>[p. 59] When the executioners arrive the people of the city are there to see whether the odd punishment is carried out and to hear what Sharbel will say.</p> |
| <p>§ 56. Place of execution specified exactly with local names [<i>See Note</i>].
Shmona and Guria placed in a cart.</p> | <p>[p. 59] “the place where he was to receive the punishment of death”.
Sharbel after severer tortures is made to “run quickly upon his feet which had been burnt”.</p> |

1) Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, 59 ff.

- § 57. "They were glad and rejoiced that the time of their crowning had arrived". [p. 60] Sharbel refuses to drink the murderers' wine, because (he says) "I desire to feel the saw with which ye saw me as well as the sword which ye pass over my neck".
- §§ 58, 59. Shmona and Guria ask for time to pray: the executioner asks for their pardon and their prayers. They pray in silence. [p. 60] Sharbel asks for time to pray. The prayer is given in full (48 words with allusions to the Gospel History).
- § 61. Just before kneeling down for execution they utter a short exclamatory prayer (16 words).
- § 60. The martyrs beg the executioners to bury them decently, as none of their friends are present. In § 65 we learn that they placed the bodies side by side, but left them unburied. [p. 60] Sharbel is elaborately done to death with absurd tortures, "and when he was at the point to die, because the saw had nearly reached his mouth, they smote him with the sword".
- First Shmona (§§ 62, 63), then Guria (§ 64), kneels down and is beheaded with a single blow.
- § 67. Shmona's daughter mentioned as among the first group that goes out to find the martyrs' bodies. [pp. 60, 61] Sharbel's sister Babai catches his blood on her skirts. The city sheriffs go off and tell the judge, who commands

them to return and order the executioners to kill her. They do so with tortures.

The Christians bury the [p. 61] Christian sympathi-
bodies without molesta- sers¹⁾ steal away the
tion. bodies of Sharbel and
Babai secretly.

Surely this comparison speaks for itself. But the story of the execution of Shmona and Guria is not only more probable than that of Sharbel and his sister; it is, I venture to say, intrinsically probable. At the time of the 'Diocletian' persecutions Edessa was already a predominantly Christian city. It only produced three Martyrs, but the popular sympathy was on their side. Indeed we may well imagine that the central Government would be far more cautious in opposing what was almost a national cult, than in dealing with the religion of a minority. It was therefore prudent to make the execution private. The episode of the cart is told most naturally: the executioner was in a hurry to get to his destination, he wished to spare his prisoners, one of whom was aged and infirm and the other could not walk, so he commandeers a chance-met "Ekka", for no doubt the *Zeuge* was a country bullock-cart. The anxiety of Shmona and Guria for decent burial is natural, especially in an Oriental Christian, but the puppet-martyr of the martyrdom-literature is for too exalted to think of such things. Finally, the mention of Shmona's daughter

1) I venture to read *رئيل* with B. M. Add. 14645 (as in *Habbib* 38) instead of *رئيل*.

at the end leads to nothing: it appears simply as a pathetic circumstance. The fact alleged is not improbable in itself, but if it were a mere invention we may remember that the author had at least an even chance of falling into error, for he has already described Guria as "sanctified", i.e. as a celebrate ascetic. Is it not easier to believe that "Theophilus" escapes all the pitfalls, because he is really describing a scene which he had witnessed?

But if important sections of the narrative of "Theophilus" approve themselves as contemporary and authentic, then we are justified in regarding the whole story with a prejudice in its favour: it becomes reasonable to treat the details that are incredible or contradictory as later accretions or corruptions of an historical account, rather than as the natural features of a fictitious narrative.

The Text. — It is agreed that the Syriac is the original, and that the Armenian (A) and both v. Dobschütz's Greek texts (G₁ G₂) are translations. Further we have only a single copy of the Syriac; in the case of *Shmona and Guria* we have to depend on a MS. of the 15th century, in the case of *Habbib* on one dated 936 A.D. ¹⁾ But I am sure it would be a mistake to regard all the extra portions of the Syriac text as later corruption or amplification. Von Dobschütz himself admits in the Greek translations a tendency to curtailment (p. XIII), and most appropriately refers elsewhere to Abbot Butler's remarkable paper on apparently "conflate" readings (p. XXX, note).

1) It is B.M. Add. 14645, the same that contains the Acts of Thomas. The dating in v. Dobschütz, pp. XI and I, who says "13th or 14th century", rests on a misapprehension.

Especially is it hazardous, in my opinion, to reject the unconventional perorations at the end of the two Acta (*S. & G.* §§ 68—70, *H.* § 40).

On the other hand one or two clauses of the Syriac, as we have it, are no doubt interpolated. In *S. & G.* § 1 the MS. adds **ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܘܢܝܘܬܐ** to **ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܘܢܝܘܬܐ**, i.e. adds the later term for “cloistered nuns” to the ancient term for Christian ascetics. This is omitted in the versions and is no doubt a late insertion. Again, in § 32 the three months’ imprisonment of the Martyrs in a dungeon is given in all our authorities: it is only in the Syriac MS. that the clause “without eating or drinking” is added. This clause also is no doubt due to a later scribe rather than an early editor¹). I venture to think that the mention of the year in § 69 is an addition of the same kind. The very construction of the sentence shews the words to be an intrusion, and the parallel passage in *Habbib* § 39, which gives the month and day of the martyrdom, also leaves out the year²).

The recognition of this last interpolation is as important as that of the interpolation in § 32. The removal of the interpolated clause in § 32 takes away the only part of the sufferings of the saints which altogether pass credibility, and the removal of the date in § 69 takes away the one clause in Theophilus’s account of the

1) The same may be said of the words “and his head” in § 35, as v. Dobschütz points out.

2) I give the passage in full, with the clause which I think an interpolation marked in italics: “And I have written these things on the 20th of November, on a Sunday, five days after the crowning of these holy Martyrs *year 618 of the Greeks*, whose very murderers were calling them blessed”. Surely any words between “holy Martyrs” and “whose” must be interpolated.

execution which could not have been written in good faith. With this clause away; we may ask ourselves why we should not regard *Shmona and Guria* as based upon a genuine account by Theophilus, in the same way that the Acts of the Apostles contains a genuine travel-diary? I believe that the parallel goes further and that Theophilus wrote the whole of the Syriac text, apart from a few corruptions such as the glosses I have just mentioned.

The Historical Situation in the Acts. — Professor v. Dobschütz in summing up against the historicity of these Acts lays stress on the similarity of style between them and the Acts of Sharbel. It seems therefore worthwhile to draw attention to certain points in which *Shmona & Guria* and *Habbib* do not follow “common form”. There is certainly very little in the story of Sharbel or in that of Barsamya to detain the historian. Sharbel the chief priest of the pagans is suddenly converted by the courageous bishop Barsamya, who does not fail to make the appropriate reference to King Abgar, to Addai the apostle, and to his predecessor Paluṭ. This conversion takes place in the most dramatic manner, but without apparent psychological reason, just at the time of the arrival of a command from Trajan to enforce the sacrifices. Sharbel, the new convert, quotes Scripture with the judge, who rails at him and afflicts him with impossibly severe tortures. The notaries write an account of all that has happened, and lay it up among the city archives ¹).

1) That is to say, “so that the Christians can find them in due time!” The real meaning is to give an explanation why this imposing event with all its wealth of edifying detail was unknown to genuine tradition and had not influenced the Christian Kalendar.

I venture to claim that the picture presented in the Acts of Shmona and Guria and of Habbib is very different. In *Sharbel* the central government is all-powerful: nothing but the miraculous power of Christ can stand up against it. In the Diocletian *Acts*, on the other hand, an attentive reader can see some of the difficulties of the Governor. By the beginning of the 4th century A.D. the Christians must have been a very powerful party in Edessa. The converts during the past century had included some of the old royal family and the noble philosopher Bardaisan. Moreover Christianity had begun to spread widely in the neighbouring Empire of Persia. Hardly a generation later the secular Powers had taken sides: the Byzantine Empire was Christian, the Sasanian was anti-Christian. But at the beginning of the 4th century the Christians were merely regarded as bad citizens of both realms, and the authorities on the spot must have felt the danger of turning bad Romans into actual Persians ¹⁾. In Nicomedia Diocletian could do very much as he liked. In Syria also there was no alternative to the Roman dominion. But Edessa lay near the frontier, where a disaffected population might prove dangerous.

Lactantius tells us (*Inst.* v. 11) that he had heard provincial Governors boasting that their administration had not been stained with Christian blood. It appears to me that the Governor of the Edessene district did his utmost to be one of these. In the Note on the Date of the Martyrdoms I have given in detail the reasons

1) I cannot help feeling that when Shmona and Guria announce that they will do the will of the *King of Kings* (§ 12) it must have had a very ugly sound to a Roman Governor east of the Euphrates.

which seem to me quite clearly to shew that the martyrdoms took place in 309 and 310. If this be so, it means that the Governor did not take any serious steps to interfere with the Christians until six years after the great persecution had been started in Nicomedia.

It is possible that the mention of the year 618 of the Greeks (= A.D. 306/7), with which our present Syriac text of *Shmona and Guria* starts off, may be original after all, for it is not quite clear how long is supposed to be occupied by the events described in §§ 1—17, especially § 4. The Governor has had Shmona and Guria arrested with other Christians. Of these others, some were flogged and set at liberty, some were more seriously hurt before being let loose, others fined — the Syriac MS. here adds that “many others were killed”, but the clause has no equivalent in either Greek version or in the Armenian — and others the persecutors simply let go (§ 4). “So Guria and Shmona his companion remained alone in prison” (§ 5 *init.*), comforting and encouraging themselves by hearing of the steadfastness of the Christian Martyrs — in *other* places! Surely this is a very unconventional picture of the times of the “Diocletian Persecution”. Does it not shew that the Governor must have been doing his utmost to do nothing?

At last Shmona and Guria are brought up for trial before him. In §§ 6—14 he tells them that they must obey the orders of the Government, and on their refusal he has them kept in custody (§ 15). Then the Governor is sent for to Antioch: no doubt his leniency has been remarked, and he comes back to Edessa with express orders to proceed to extremities at once.

The same general situation is depicted in the Acts

of Ḥabbib. The 'persecution' is entirely official. "When many were being persecuted they cried out of their own free will 'we are Christians' and they were not afraid of the persecution, because those who were persecuted were more numerous than those who persecuted them" (§ 1). The Governor sends to arrest Ḥabbib, who happens to be away at the time, so his mother and other inhabitants of his native place Tel-ṣhê¹⁾ are taken prisoners to Edessa. Ḥabbib hears of this and comes to Edessa to give himself up. The old captain of the guard would dissuade him and tells him not to be anxious about his relations, "for", he says, "no man will hurt them, but they will remain a few days in prison and the Governor will then dismiss them" (§ 9). The conversation between Ḥabbib and Theotecna may be imaginary, but the situation depicted is wholly unlike the conventional picture of the faithful confessors and the ruthless heathen Governor, of which *Sharbel* and *Barsamya* are typical examples. When finally Ḥabbib is brought before the Governor, the annoyance of the Governor with Ḥabbib is made to start from the fact that he has given himself up willingly. The Governor would have been better pleased not to have caught him. It had evidently been no part of the Governor's plan to make Christian martyrs; he only wanted to "save the face" of the government. This was naturally misunderstood by the translators and they have left out § 13a where it is most clearly expressed.

The Tortures. — The evidence of Eusebius in his *Martyrs of Palestine* is enough to shew that severe

1) I. e. 'Drymount': also mentioned in Wright *CBM* 648.

tortures were really used against Christians during the great persecution. Those which Shmona and Guria and Habbib are said to have endured are similar to those described by Eusebius, and much milder and less fanciful than those in *Sharbel* and *Barsamya*. The really noteworthy feature about the tortures in *Shmona and Guria* is that the martyrs themselves feel them. Old Guria is stretched one day on a vertical rack (§ 28) and afterwards confined in a dark dungeon (§ 32). He remains firm indeed in his confession, but physically he is a broken man. For this reason they give him no more torture (§ 35). Shmona, a younger man, is further tortured by being hung up by one leg, with the result that the tendons of his knee were severely damaged, and he cannot walk. As a rule in this class of literature, the most elaborate tortures seem to produce no physiological reaction whatever.

Alleged anachronisms of Christian organisation. — I have already noticed the evidence which shews that the term *dairyāthā* ("cloistered nuns") does not occur in the genuine text of *S. & G.* § 1, and that the only genuine term there used for Christian ascetics is *bnāth kyāmā* (lit. "daughters of the covenant"). I cannot regard this term as an anachronism. Notwithstanding all criticisms, I have seen nothing to change my belief that in very early times the Church in Mesopotamia required the Marcionite rule for full Church membership, and that the Baptized Christian was expected to give up both his family ties and his property¹). How long this rule lasted is a matter of dispute: in practice, as distinct

1) See *Early Eastern Christianity*, esp. pp. 129, 142.

from ecclesiastical theory, I suppose it broke down soon after the fall of paganism and the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire. But I see no reason to suppose that in the 3rd century, while Christianity was still more or less an illicit religion, persons in Mesopotamia were admitted to baptism who intended to live a married life. And this is the state of things reflected in our Acts. There is nothing to shew that Shmona (who had a daughter) was even baptized, still less that his daughter had been born after he had been baptized.

In such a state of things a word is needed for those who are sympathisers with the Christians, though they are still living in the world. They are not yet properly "Christians", but they are not "pagans". Accordingly they are called *ܢܫܝܗ ܥܠܡܝܝܗ* 'nāshē 'ālmāyē, i.e. persons living in the world". The *Bar kyāmā* is the baptized Christian, the 'Almāyā is the Christian sympathiser, not yet a Catechumen. At a later period, when *Bar kyāmā* had become, with changed circumstances, narrowed down to denote a particular kind of monk, a similar term, 'ālmānāyā, is used for "layman", i.e. a baptized Christian not in Holy Orders. But *Ḥabbib* 38 reflects an earlier state of things. The body of Ḥabbib is carried by 'nāshē 'ālmāyē as well as by "brethren", and these in turn are distinguished from Jews and Pagans.

Method of Compilation. — At the end of the Syriac text of *Ḥabbib*, after the peroration, we find added: "Now at the 27th question that the judge asked Ḥabbib, he gave against him sentence of death by the burning of fire". This covers *Ḥabbib* §§ 14—34, and I cannot

help wondering whether it was not all that Theophilus could get out of the official minutes of the trial, and that his rough notes have somehow got tacked on to the end of his finished composition ¹⁾).

The story of the three trials of Shmona and Guria reads to me more natural than that of Habbib and more as if it was based on definite information. No doubt it is not a mere transcript of shorthand notes, as the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs seem to be, but I do not see why it should not be an expansion of such notes. I do not see why §§ 37—39 should not be essentially historical: the judge hears Shmona muttering something as he hangs in torment; he hopes it may be a promise to yield, and he tells the Notary to go and take his words down. That Shmona said anything so elaborate as § 37, 38 (not that what we read is really elaborate), is improbable. But the general sense is what we might expect. "God of Stephen the Martyr, keep my mouth from begging for mercy in this agony!" — that is the gist of what he says. The difference between this and the text of §§ 37, 38, is only the difference between the literary taste of the fourth century and that of the twentieth.

The chronology of the opening paragraphs in both Martyrdoms seems hopelessly faulty: the paragraphs were probably drawn up in their present form half a century after the events, when the *Acts* were adapted for ecclesiastical use. By that time the chronology of the events of the great persecution had faded from popular memory, and Licinius was remembered as the

1) See further, pp. 180—182.

adversary of Constantine and as the author of vexations anti-Christian regulations ¹). In any case, if we accept the story of the execution of Shmona and Guria as the genuine report of an eye-witness, written in good faith, it is the occasional and indirect chronological indications that we ought to start from, as they are less likely to be altered.

The grain of history hidden in the chaff of *Sharbel* and *Barsamya* is no doubt small. It is quite conceivable that among other noble inhabitants of Edessa a heathen priest named Sharbel may have been converted about the middle of the 3rd century, and such a personage may very well have been put to death about the time of the Decian persecution. It is noteworthy that the tradition, such as it is, does not make Barsamya the Bishop to be a martyr.

The date of our *Acts of Sharbel* appears to be earlier than the episcopate of Rabbula (411—435), for Sharbel quotes the apocryphal Third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians ²). This Epistle was included in S. Ephraim's Commentary on the Pauline Epistles, but naturally finds no place in the Peshiṭta New Testament as revised by Rabbula. On the other hand Barsamya tells Sharbel (p. 43) that "He who put on a body is God, Son of God (i.e. θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ), Son of the *īthūtha* of His Father, and Son of the *Kyānā* of Him that begat Him ³). This

1) See Görres, *Kritische Untersuchungen u. d. Licinianische Christenverfolgung*, passim.

2) See *ASD*, p. 11 (E. Tr., p. 56₂₁): "The scars of my body — that I may come to the resurrection from the dead". This is from the end of the Epistle.

3) Cureton *ASD* 43. That the theological terms here used correspond to the Nicene phrase ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί is fully explained in the Ap-

is distinctly post-Nicene language, and in an Edessene document it indicates the latter half of the 4th century, possibly even some time in the last quarter.

Yet there is one feature of the *Acts of Sharbel* which demands notice here, because of its marked difference from the Acts of the Diocletian Confessors. Not only is the Christianity of the Christians different in the two sets of documents; the Paganism of the pagans is different also. Sharbel was the priest of "Bel" and "Nebo", and his vestments include the Diadem (ܟܪܘܢܐ), which according to the *Doctrine of Addai* was worn by the heathen Abgars of Edessa and is still to be seen figured on their coins. But the worship in which the Diocletian Confessors refuse to join is the worship of "Zeus". In *Sharbel* there is no word of Zeus, in *Shmona and Guria* and in *Habbib* there is no word of Bel and Nebo. Moreover in *Sharbel* the populace of Edessa is represented as half pagan, half Christian: in the *Acts* of the Diocletian Confessors the city is overwhelmingly Christian ¹⁾, and the persecution of the Confessors is entirely the work of the distant and alien Graeco-Roman Emperor. "This Zeus" is the alien God, whose worship in every market-place was inculcated by the Fifth Edict of the Persecution.

It should be noticed that it is not only a question of the names given to the Gods of heathendom. Bel and Nebo, so far as they do not signify the planets, may very likely come from the Old Testament. But

pendix to Bethune-Baker's *Nestorius*, p. 217, to which the curious reader is referred.

1) See especially *Habbib* § 1 (end).

when the judge says to Sharbel "Renounce not the Gods whom thou once confessedst", and Sharbel replies "Spare me again from saying that there be Gods and Powers and Fates and Nativities" ¹⁾, are we not moving in the circle of ideas in which the Bardesian Dialogue on Fate moves? There is nothing at all like it in the Diocletian *Acts*.

I do not mean to try and rehabilitate on these grounds the historicity of the Acts of Sharbel. What I claim is that the Acts of Sharbel and the Acts of the Diocletian Confessors cannot both be fictitious and also by the same hand. It is not likely that a historical novelist would on the one hand so delicately distinguish successive stages in Edessene paganism, while at the same time he makes Sharbel in the distant past (but not Shmona, Guria and Ḥabbib in the nearer past) use the shibboleths of Athanasian controversy. Whether the existing Syriac MS. of *Shmona and Guria* has more accurately preserved than the versions the terms in which the Martyrs speak of Christ is a difficult question, but in neither case are they made to use the Athanasian catchwords or the Trinitarian formulae. Those who maintain the literary connexion between the Acts of Sharbel and the Acts of our Confessors, and yet consider these latter Acts fictitious, need to produce adequate explanations of all these problems.

It seems to me probable that the Doctrine of Addai, the Acts of Sharbel and of Barsamya, the Acts of Guria and Shmona and those of Ḥabbib, form one series designed to celebrate the ancient glories of the Edessene

1) *ASD* 50.

Church. The editor of the series worked over the documents he used, but he did not invent them. What he may have had for the earlier periods we cannot tell. For the period of the Great Persecution he had the contemporary accounts drawn up by Theophilus, which he incorporated whole, merely adding chronological notices (mostly inaccurate) here and there. I venture to think we are driven to frame some such hypothesis to account for the touches which still make the figures of the Confessors of Edessa live before our eyes.

ON THE DATE OF THE MARTYRDOMS.

The fact about the dates which is best attested is that Shmona and Guria were executed on Nov. 15 and Habbib burnt on Sep. 2. This is attested by the ancient Syriac Kalendar as well as by all authorities for the *Acts*.

Further, the Edessene Chronicle tells us that in the year 312—3 A.D. Konna Bishop of Edessa began to build the Church, which was finished by his successor. It is impossible not to connect this with the Edict of Milan tolerating Christian worship, so that any date for the martyrdoms later than 311 is highly improbable. As a matter of fact, Eusebius records martyrdoms in Palestine only between the years 303 and 310¹).

Now assuming the good faith of Theophilus, and also (for the reasons given above, p. 17, note) that the clause "year 618 of the Greeks" in *S. & G.* 69 is an interpolation, we have the further information that the fifth day after the execution of Shmona and Guria (Nov. 20) was a Sunday²). This fact is also attested both by the

1) A very good discussion of the Chronology of the *Martyrs of Palestine* is given by H. J. Lawlor in *Hermathena* XV (1908), pp. 177—201.

2) It is perhaps not altogether fanciful to suggest that Theophilus may have had leisure to write on that day, not because it was a Sunday, but because Nov. 20 was observed as the Emperor Maximin's birthday. See *Lawlor*, p. 187.

Syriac and by G^1 in *S. & G.* § 41. In other words the Sunday Letter for the year was B, or if a Leap Year CB. This gives as a series of possible years A.D. 292 298 309 315 320. The first is too early, and the last two too late, so we are left with 298 and 309.

Sep. 2 is said in *Habbib* 39 to be a Friday in the Syriac, but a Saturday according to G^1 . G^2 always leaves out the day of the week. According to the Syriac, therefore, the Sunday letter is B (or CB), according to G^1 it is A (or BA).

If our Syriac text be accurate the possible years are the same as before, i.e. 298 and 309; and, as *Habbib* suffered later, it compels us to date Shmona and Guria 298, *Habbib* 309. If G^1 be accurate the possible years are 299 304 310. On general grounds it is likely that the attempted enforcement of pagan sacrifice took place in Edessa later than in Palestine: hence we should accept the 'Saturday' of G^1 in *Habbib* 39 rather than the 'Friday' of the Syriac, and obtain as a final result

Shmona and Guria executed . . . Tuesday, Nov. 15, 309
A.D. = A.Gr. 621.

Habbib burnt Saturday, Sep. 2, 310
A.D. = A.G. 621¹).

The above examination assumes that the definite and formal dates in our documents are the most liable to error, whether on the part of later scribes or through inaccuracy in the original writer. The year 310 best fits the general situation depicted in the peroration of *Habbib* (according to the Syriac form), where it is declared to

1) Or 622 if the year begin in *September*: see below.

be known that Constantine has set out from the extreme West, but the result is still doubtful. This points to some time before Constantine's victory over *Maxentius* (312): it is noteworthy that no appeal is made by the Martyrs to any previous Edict of Toleration.

It is possible that neither the catalogue of Bishops in *S. & G.* 68 nor the catalogue of Martyrs in § 5 belongs to the original narrative of Theophilus. So far as dates go, the list in § 5 would support the date 309 A.D. for Shmona and Guria, while that in § 68 would be at least neutral, for though Gaius of Rome died in 296, Tyrannus of Antioch did not begin till 303 or later. It should however be pointed out that the list in § 68 is not, properly speaking, a list of synchronisms at all. In the whole of § 67 and § 68 it is not too clear what persons are meant by 'they', whether Shmona and Guria, or the Diocletian Martyrs generally, or the Christians of Edessa. And the last sentence in § 68 ("Now some of these things", &c.) implies that the Four Bishops are mentioned along with Konna of Edessa not because Shmona and Guria suffered in their days, but because other Diocletian Martyrs suffered in their days in their dioceses.

That Theophilus writing down a really contemporary account of the Martyrs could name the reigning Emperors incorrectly is of course impossible. Very likely he did not name them at all, or the judge, but spoke throughout of "the Emperor(s)" and "the Governor". In *Habbib* 39 he may very well have written that the report had come to Edessa that Constantine in the far West had set out to fight 'with' Licinius (the present Emperor of the East) *against the persecutors*. Certainly if he did write in this fashion, it would easily be misunderstood by a

later age, which thought of the Great Persecution as we do, as Diocletian's, and which came to remember Licinius chiefly as one who cashiered Christian soldiers and bullied Christian bishops, and also as the adversary of Constantine the Christian Emperor.

In any case the mention of Licinius here probably caused the wrong insertion of 'Licinius' in *Habbib* 3—5. The name of Maximinus does not occur anywhere in the transmitted Syriac text, for in *Shmona and Guria* § 1 the name is written **ܡܐܝܡܝܢܝܢ**, and this is also the name given to the Governor of Edessa (*Mysianus*, *Μυσιανός* §²). Possibly this name is also an insertion of the later editor.

When we come to the opening paragraphs it is impossible not to connect the mention of Roman Consuls in the Edessene document with the mention of Consuls at the beginning of *Barsamya*. The same hand no doubt inserted both sets. Now *Barsamya* is dated 5 September, 416 A.Gr. (= 105 A.D.), "in the consulship of Commodus and Cyrillus". This is near enough to Commodus and Cerealis, the real Consuls for 106 A.D., to shew that the editor was using a List of Consuls, not inventing them out of his head ¹). It is a natural conjecture that this List itself, like the Roman Ravennate Chronicle of 533, was provided with historical notices, e.g. to A.D. 303 *Diocletiano VII et Maximiano V* is added "His consilib. aecclesiae demolite sunt et libri dominici combusti sunt": some notice such as this may have caused the editor of *S. & G.* to date his work by the consuls

1) He has further got the years of Trajan wrong; so also with Diocletian, *S. & G.* I.

for 304. I imagine that Theophilus merely gave a year A.Gr. and the *Strategi* of Edessa as a date.

The dates now found in the Syriac at the beginning of the two *Acta* are A.Gr. 618 and A.Gr. 620. If we might assume that at this period the year began with Ilul = September, instead of ending with it ¹⁾, this date would be in each case two years too early. Is it possible that the current reckoning of the Seleucid Era in Edessa was two years different from what was afterwards reckoned? In any case, assuming that the whole narrative covers as short a period as possible, the date at the beginning of *S. & G.* should be the year previous to the actual martyrdoms. This, it may be remarked, is an additional reason for regarding the mention of the year 618 in *S. & G.* 69 as spurious.

The drastic treatment of the dates in the transmitted text of *Shmona and Guria* and of *Habbib*, here advocated, may appear somewhat arbitrary. It might seem a simpler solution to reject the tales altogether, as Nöldeke and v. Dobschütz do. I can only repeat that the main reason for continuing to regard the nucleus of the narrative of "Theophilus" as genuine history is its internal character. The simplicity of the tale of the actual executions, and the tone of personal feeling that pervades the perorations, are themselves facts that challenge explanation. The perorations did not appeal to

1) This follows from *Habbib* 18a, where the ܐܪܒܢܐ of the Emperor is evidently Sep. 1. The Syriac word used seems to be identical with that used by the Jews (אֲרִיִּים) in 'Aboda Zara I 1 for the heathen New Year. In the Edessene Chronicle LXIX (death of Simeon Stylites) the year begins with September; in LXXXI (siege of Edessa) the year ends with September.

the taste of the various translators. Greek and Armenian, but they place us in a time when the memory of the Persecution and the terror it inspired was still fresh. If they be not a genuine reflexion of the writer's age and feelings they are artistic work of very high excellence, and artistic work of very high excellence is not the characteristic of the literature of Martyrdom.

THE PLACE OF THE MARTYRDOMS.

The Plan of ancient Edessa generally used by modern writers is that to be found at the end of Wright's edition of Joshua Stylites. It is founded upon C. Niebuhr's Plan of modern Urfa (1780), supplemented and corrected by later scholars. A proper trigonometrical survey of the town and neighbourhood is much needed, though the preparation of it would be beset with difficulties both from Turkish officialdom and from the fanaticism of the present Moslem population.

The main authorities for the compilation of this Note, besides our Martyrdoms themselves, are the Chronicle of "Joshua Stylites" (507 A.D.), the Edessene Chronicle (before 600), Rahmani's Chronicle (about 1200), and Bar Hebraeus (1285); the accounts of Niebuhr, Badger, and Sachau; and a set of photographs, some of which are reproduced in my book called *Early Eastern Christianity*, while that of the Church of S. Theodore (now belonging to the Armenians and called *Der Serkis*) is given here as a Frontispiece.

The Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus is valuable for the tale of the storming of Edessa by the Atabek in 1145, of which it incorporates a contemporary account. The

1) *Chronicon civile et ecclesiasticum anonymi auctoris* edidit Ephraem Rahmani (1904).

Patriarch Rahmani's Chronicle contains a detailed list of the Churches and Convents in Edessa (*fol.* 92—94), with some welcome topographical indications: the Chronicler evidently knew Edessa well, but of course he writes at too late a period to be an unquestionable authority for the age of Diocletian and of Rabbula ¹⁾. The Edessene Chronicle is partly dependent on Joshua Stylites.

According to the unanimous testimony of all our sources the outline of the walls has remained unaltered from very early times. Rahmani's Chronicler says that "very little" was to be seen of the actual work of Seleucus Nicator (*fol.* 48), but the ground plan traditionally referred to him has remained. It is probable that the designer of the walls planned the main Gates also, but unluckily their names have varied from time to time. Niebuhr marks four Gates, viz.

Haran Kapusi, on the S. side, near the SE. corner,
 Begk Kapusi, on the E. side, where the river leaves
 the wall,

Gengi Kapusi, at the NE. corner,

Samsat Kapusi, on the NW. side.

Sachau (*Reise*, p. 193) enumerates six Gates, Bâb Samsât (NW.), Bâb Esserâi (N.), Jeni Kapu (NE.) ²⁾, Bek Kapusu (E.), Bâb Essâķib (W.), Bâb Hârân (SE.). Badger (I 322) also mentions the Serai Gate, so that it seems to have been made between 1780 and 1852. It does not appear when the New Gate (*Yeñi Kāpu*, يڭي قپو) was made.

1) For instance on *fol.* 58 he assigns the diversion of the Daişan to King Abgar and Addai the Apostle!

2) See the correction at the end of Sachau's volume.

No modern observer speaks of any other Gate on the S. side than the Harran Gate, and indeed the configuration of the ground makes that the only suitable point for a town Gate in the S. wall.

None of the ancient authorities call any of the Gates by the names of places to which they lead. Rahmani's Chronicler speaks of the East Gate and of the North Gate. Bar Hebraeus mentions the Sundial Gate (ܟܘܢܕܝܐ ܟܘܢܕܝܐ), obviously on the S. side. The Edessene Chronicle (LXVIII) mentions the Gate of Beth Shemesh. Joshua Stylites mentions the "Arches" Gate (ܟܘܢܕܝܐ ܟܘܢܕܝܐ), the Theatre Gate and the Great Gate. Of these, the Arches Gate was certainly on the West, for it is called the West Gate in *Habbib* 35, and the Theatre Gate was opposite it, therefore on the East. It further appears from Joshua § 27 that the river Daişan formerly entered the city near the Arches Gate and left it near the Theatre Gate. We may therefore safely place the latter about half-way between the Harran Gate and the Bey's Gate.

I venture further to identify the Great Gate of Joshua not with the Harran Gate at the SE. corner, but with the Bey's Gate (*Beg Kapusi*) on the E. side. For Joshua § 36 says

ܟܘܢܕܝܐ ܟܘܢܕܝܐ ܟܘܢܕܝܐ ܟܘܢܕܝܐ ܟܘܢܕܝܐ ܟܘܢܕܝܐ ܟܘܢܕܝܐ

This must mean: "There was a breach in the wall at a place south of the Great Gate" ¹⁾. Now nothing in Edessa is south of the Harran Gate, so that Joshua's Great Gate must be further to the north. It will be seen presently that other indications confirm this.

1) For the idiom, see *Nöldeke* § 247.

There is every reason to suppose that Bar Hebraeus's Sundial Gate is the Harran Gate, and I believe also that this is the Gate called Gate of Beth Shemesh in the Edessene Chronicle (LXVIII). Is it not possible that a Sundial may have been called Sun House as well as Hours' House? The name only occurs in this one passage.

If we make these identifications, and only if we do make them, the topographical notes in Rahmani's Chronicle become comprehensible and the account of the disposition of the Persian Army in Joshua's chapter about the siege of Edessa becomes clear and consistent. With the knowledge thus gained and confirmed we shall be able with some confidence to locate the places where Shmona and Guria and Habbib were martyred, and where the Shrine stood in which their Coffin was preserved.

The List in Rahmani's Chronicle names the following Churches in and around the city ¹⁾.

1. Church of Thomas the Apostle in the SW. corner of the city [= the Great Church].
2. Ch. of the XII Apostles in the E. quarter. [By the "Great Gate", says Josh. Styl. § 43].
3. Ch. of Sergius the Martyr by the E. Gate. [The Churches of S. Sergius and of S. Simeon were outside the walls, Josh. § 31].
4. Ch. of John the Baptist in the W. quarter, with red marble pillars.
5. Ch. of Stephen, in the middle of the city, which had been a Synagogue. [This, as all travellers agree,

1) Additional notes or identifications not contained in Rahmani's document are added in square brackets. I abbreviate the wording of the Chronicle.

corresponds to the Ulu Jāmi, the Great Mosque in the centre of the town, with its ancient octagonal tower].

6. Ch. of Sergius in the E. quarter a little south of the Apostles.
7. Two Churches of Theodore, one (*a*) in the Citadel (ܟܘܢܝܢܐ), the other (*b*) outside, in the hill, in the W. quarter, on the Serug road. [N°. 7*b* is doubtless the building shewn in the Frontispiece, now called also Der Serkis and Khidr Elias].
8. Two Churches of the Confessors, one (*a*) in Rāmāth Dauḳē, with monastery attached, the other (*b*) for Guria, Shmona, and Ḥabbib, by the N. Gate of the city. [N°. 8*a* is the Church mentioned by Bar Hebraeus, n°. 8*b* is our Shrine].
9. Ch. of Cyriacus, NE. of the Confessors.
10. Ch. of James of the times of Julian in the village of ܘܪܦܝܐ [= "Garamoosh" (*Badger* I 325), the Armenian village three hours from Urfa].
11. Churches of SS. Cosmas and Damian: (*a*) Cosmas in the S. quarter, outside in the plain; (*b*) Damian above, at the top of the bare cliff near the city. The Saints themselves are buried in these Churches.
12. In the hill many monasteries, incl. B.V.M., the "Orientals", and two of S. Barbara.
13. Monastery of Ḳubbē, at the foot of the hill, south of the Ch. of Cosmas.
14. Monastery of the Exedra, on the top of the hill, and others.
15. Ch. of James ܟܘܨܬܝܐ in the midst of the hills, where there had been a great altar of the pagans which is standing to this day in the monastery

itself. [This is evidently the Der Ja^cḳūb (*Surp Hagop*), where Sachau found the ancient inscription of ἀμασσάμση. ܠܗܝܘܢܝܢ means “of the Mausoleums”; possibly James, Abbot of Naphshātha, to whom Jacob of Serug wrote a letter, was the actual founder of the Convent (see Wright *CBM* 525a)].

It will be seen from the above that the shrines of SS. Cosmas and Damian (111a b) are outside the walls on the South, i.e. outside the Harran Gate. This is an additional reason for identifying this Gate with the Gate of Beth Shemesh where Bishop Nonnus built the Lepers' Hospital in which was the Shrine of SS. Cosmas and Damian. I venture to suggest that Rahmani's Shrine of S. Cosmas is now Job's Well (*Bir Ayyūb*), which according to *Badger* I 326 is a Healing Spring for skin diseases, and S. Damian may be “Sheikh Maḳṣūd”.

Some remains of the Church of S. Sergius appear still to survive in front of the Bey's Gate. “Vor Bek Kapusu”, says Professor Sachau (*Reise*, p. 204), “liegt ein alter Kirchhof, in dessen Mauer ich antike Baureste bemerkte”. The Church was burnt by the Persians in September, 503, as Joshua Stylites tells us.

As observed above, Joshua's story of this siege of Edessa by the Persians serves as a kind of touchstone for our identifications. The Persian army under Ḳawād invested Edessa on Wednesday, Sep. 17, A.D. 503. “His camp extended from the churches of S. Cosmas and S. Damian¹⁾, past all the gardens and the Church of S. Sergius and the village of Bēkīn, as far as the church

1) ܟܢܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܩܘܨܡܘܨܐ, ܩܘܨܡܘܨܐ ܕܩܘܨܡܘܨܐ, ܩܘܨܡܘܨܐ ܕܩܘܨܡܘܨܐ: this is ambiguous, and may mean two churches or one.

of the Confessors; and its breadth was as far as the *Mauvais Pas* of Şerrīn" (§ 60)¹). An attack having failed, the besiegers retreat to Kubbē, i.e. the first village in the direction of Harran. A week later the attack is renewed and again fails, so the Persians retire, having burnt S. Sergius's Church, and also the Church of the Confessors (§ 62). This, as the Edessene Chronicle (LXXXI) well understands, is the "Northern Basilica", outside the walls, not far from the N. Gate. The passage, surely, is now quite clear, but with Wright's identifications, made before Rahmani's Chronicle was discovered, it is impossible to follow the topography at all.

We do not know whether the Church of S. Sergius and the Shrine of the Confessors were restored after the Persians burnt them. At any rate the famous Coffin (*κρυβάριον*) was safe, for "they had brought in the bones of all the martyrs which were around the city" (Josh. § 59), to save them from injury. Indeed the other Shrine of the Confessors in *Rāmath Dauḫē* (Watchmen's Mound), with its monastery attached, seems to have been designed as a place of refuge for the relics and the monks who dwelt outside in times of peace.

In any case, so far as our Acts of Martyrdom and the story of Euphemia is concerned, the Shrine of the Confessors evidently means the Shrine near the N. Gate. It only remains to locate Beth Alah Kikla itself. From what has been said the area of possibility has been greatly narrowed. The Martyrs go out alive through the

1) Wright's *Josh. Styl.*, p. 51. *κρυβάριον* is "bad roads" rather than "steep descent": probably the name denoted the ford over the Germish Chai.

W. Gate, and their bones are preserved near the N. Gate: Beth Alah Kikla must be somewhere NW. of Edessa.

On general grounds, as the executioners took out Shmona and Guria, and afterwards Habbib, by the West Gate, and appear to have returned the same way, we must look for the places of execution nearer to this Gate than to the Gate further north, from which their Shrine afterwards was approached. The very mention of the Coffin (*S. & G.* 67) leaves room for the subsequent removal of the hallowed bones.

The data given by the Acts are

1. Shmona and Guria were beheaded at Beth Alah Kikla, a rising ground N. of Edessa (ܩܝܩܠܐ), but SW. of the spring that flows into the town (*S. & G.* 56).

2. Habbib was burnt by the Cemetery of 'Abshlama bar Abgar (*H.* 35).

3. Habbib's body was carried in procession by the Christians to the grave of Shmona and Guria in Beth Alah Kikla (*H.* 38).

4. The Shrine of the Confessors was near a hill (*Euphemia* 29, end), and was itself situated on rising ground (*Euphemia* 13, 33). It was therefore not just outside the N. Gate.

We know nothing otherwise about 'Abshlama's Cemetery, but as the *Testament* of Ephraim (§ XI) commands the body of Ephraim to be buried with the poor strangers in common ground, and the reputed grave of S. Ephraim actually is at Der Serkis (i.e. the Church of S. Theodore), it is not unlikely that this Cemetery was in the neighbourhood of Der Serkis. Further, just before, at the end of § X of the *Testament* we read

.ܩܝܡܐ ܕܥܝܢܝ ܕܥܝܢܝ ܕܥܝܢܝ : ܩܝܡܐ ܕܥܝܢܝ ܕܥܝܢܝ
 .ܩܝܡܐ ܕܥܝܢܝ ܕܥܝܢܝ : ܩܝܡܐ ܕܥܝܢܝ ܕܥܝܢܝ

“Leave it (Ephraim’s dead body), cast it on the dunghill,
 for it cannot be conscious of honour.

Wealth is fitting for the wealthy,
 and for the poor the dunghill”.

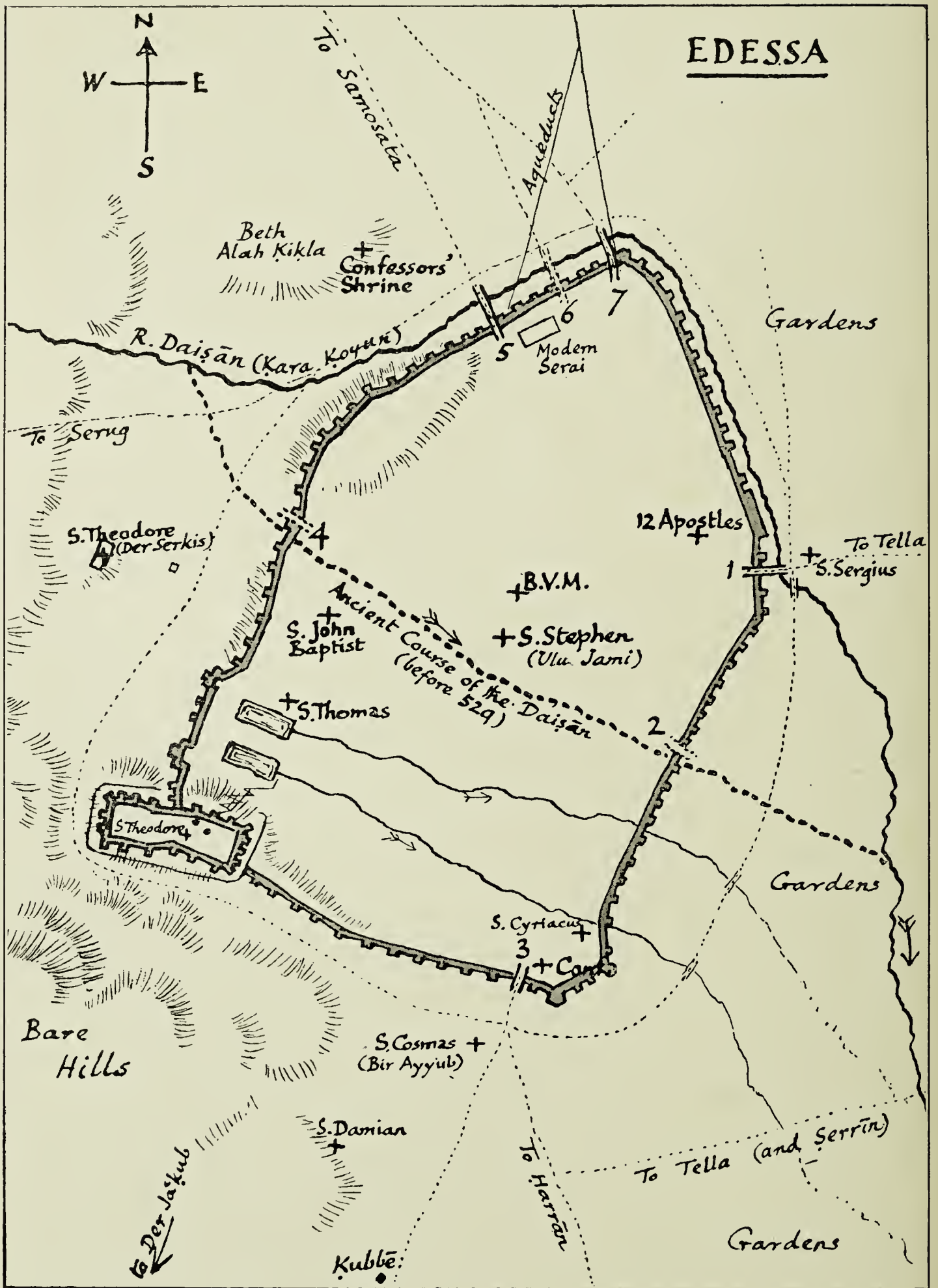
Is not this reiterated mention of the dunghill a reference to *Beth Alah Kikla*, the “Dung God’s Shrine”?

On the other hand *Beth Alah Kikla* is said to be N. of Edessa, yet SW. of a certain spring which goes into the town. This spring is very likely the same as is called *Keris Suju* (i.e. Canal River) in the corrigenda to Sachau’s volume, as it comes into Urfa from the NW. The lines of the aqueducts shewn on the plan are those by which according to Wright the water came from *Telzema* and *Maudad* (*Josh. Styl.* § 87): this is probably the aqueduct called *Dschansach* by Sachau’s correspondent. The spring (ܩܝܡܐ) mentioned in *S. & G.* 56 may be what *Badger* (1 328) calls *Sooleiman Pyâr*, a spring where *Addai* is said to have baptized the first converts.

With all this it must be remembered that when our documents were written the *Daişan* did not go round Edessa as it now does, but still flowed through the town. Moreover, there is rising ground inside the walls opposite the *Samosata Gate* and for some distance to the SW. (*Sachau*, 192, 194), so that it is clear the ancient course of the river must have been south of this again, probably south of *S. Stephen’s Church*.

The general result is to locate the place of *Ḥabbib’s* martyrdom not very far from *Der Serkis*, where *S.*

Ephraim's tomb is, but further to the north, i.e. on the extreme right hand of the Frontispiece to this book. The place where Shmona and Guria were executed must have been yet further to the north, beyond the present course of the Daişan and near Solomon's spring. It is here that we must look for remains of the Shrine built about A.D. 350 by Bishop Abraham, the Shrine to which Euphemia went up with her mother and the Goth, and to which she returned in so strange and dramatic a fashion.



(TO FACE THE PLAN OF EDESSA).

Gates of Edessa—Urfa :

1. Bey's Gate (*Bek Kapusi*) = Great Gate [Josh. Styl.].
2. Theatre Gate [Josh. Styl.].
3. Harran Gate = Sundial Gate [Bar Hebr.]; G. of Beth Shemesh [Chron.].
4. W. Gate (*Bāb Essākib, Daghtar Kapu*) = G. of the "Arches" [Josh.; Ḥabbib].
5. Samosata Gate = old N. Gate.
6. Serai Gate.
7. New Gate (*Yeni Kapu*).

The Cross close to N^o. 3, marked Conf., is the New Church and Monastery of the Confessors, mentioned by Bar Hebraeus and in Rahmani's Chronicle. The large Bastion just south of it is probably what was called *Rāmāth Dauḳē* (i.e. Watchmen's Height). Near the Church of S. Theodore in the Citadel is marked the position of the two great Columns. S. Theodore outside the walls, now the Armenian Monastery of S. Sergius (*Der Serkis*), is the building shewn in the Frontispiece. The modern Armenian Cathedral must be very nearly on the site of S. John Baptist.

ABOUT EUPHEMIA AND THE GOTH.

§ I.

From the time that I first read the story of Euphemia in the Nitrian MS. I had no doubt that it was of Syriac origin. The Greek version had been known to me chiefly from a fragmentary MS. at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, but it seemed altogether inferior and secondary compared with the Syriac. As however Professor von Dobschütz, in his admirable edition of the Greek text of the tale, maintains that it, and not the Syriac, is the original, it is necessary to indicate the reasons which incline me to the contrary opinion.

A tale about the local Saints of Edessa might naturally be supposed to have originated there, and any other hypothesis needs either express external testimony or strong internal arguments. It will be convenient to begin by enumerating Prof. v. Dobschütz's arguments, to be found on p. L of his edition.

"I. Not only is no Syriac text of *Euphemia* known, but also there is no reference to the tale in Jacob of Serug's Homilies or in the rest of Syriac literature".

The production of two Syriac MSS., one of them as old as the 9th century, is not perhaps a complete answer to this, though it goes a considerable way. It may be

further urged, with reference to the silence of Jacob of Serug and others, that the same argument might be used to prove that the "Hymn of the Soul" in the Acts of Thomas was not a Syriac original. For Jacob composed a Homily on the Palace which S. Thomas built, but he is silent about the great Hymn; and, on the other hand, the Hymn is both extant in Greek and is also the subject of an Encomium by Niceta of Thessalonica! The fact is, that we do not possess an approximately complete or representative *Corpus* of Syriac Literature, in the same way that we possess it for the Byzantine Greek and Mediaeval Latin Literatures. What we have is the contents of a single monastic Library, supplemented by late collections from elsewhere. And the special interest of the story of Euphemia is its secular tone; it is only in some of the secondary Greek texts that the heroine becomes a nun.

"2. All the Greek texts go back to a single literary work, which shews no trace of being a translation from the Syriac".

Now that the Syriac is before us we see that the "translation" was so free that linguistic traces of a foreign style are scarcely to be looked for. The Syriac is as much fresher, less ecclesiastical, more like a folk-tale, than v. Dobschütz's text, as that text is than those in the *Menaea*.

"3. The quotations from the Bible are taken from the Septuagint".

In the Syriac the few Biblical passages that occur (mostly from the Psalms) are given in according with the Peshitta. The translator, whether Greek or Syrian, simply made use of the familiar words of his own Bible.

“4. The mother and daughter, Sophia and Euphemia, have Greek names”.

But these names are hardly more foreign on Mesopotamian ground than “Sophia” and “Euphemia” are in England. Euphemia was the name of a famous martyr, actually mentioned in the Edessene Chronicle (§ 83) ¹).

“5. The character of the Tale itself is that of the Greek Novel”.

Our knowledge of the range of Syriac Literature is less than that of Greek Literature. Yet Syriac Literature includes Romances such as the Acts of Thomas, with its brilliant sketches of the minor characters. The dull “Romance of Julian” is a regular historical novel. But indeed the East has always been famous for the telling of Tales: the Story of Euphemia is at least as near to the Arabian Nights as it is to the tale of Clytemnestra and Cassandra.

It is, I venture to think, obvious that no safe conclusion can be reached from these general considerations. The nature and *provenance* of the Syriac MSS are equally indecisive. The 9th century Nitrian MS was written by one Simeon, who copied it for his own use (Wright, *CBM* 1110): the contents of the volume are miscellaneous, some of the stories being taken from such well-known sources as the *Historia Lausiaca*, no doubt at second or third hand. Most of the twenty-six items are found elsewhere in Syriac MSS, and one of them, the History of Simeon of Kephar ʿAbdin, is certainly of Syriac origin ²). The Paris MS was written in the

1) Curiously enough, here also is a mention of a miracle wrought in connexion with a Coffin (*glusk̄mā*).

2) See also Appendix I for another Syriac tale from the same MS.

13th century at Antioch, and it also is a collection of edifying tales. At the end of *Euphemia* we find a Note, as follows:

“Here endeth the story of the miracle that the Holy Confessors performed on Euphemia who was betrothed to the Goth in Edessa: it was copied from an old book that was written in the royal city of Constantinople by John the Monk and Recluse”.

So far as it goes, this certainly would suggest a Greek origin for the tale, but the Note is not confirmed by the Nitrian MS, written some three or four centuries earlier. And even if it be regarded as a serious piece of information, it does not legitimate the existing Greek text, as edited by v. Dobschütz, against the Syriac text here published ¹).

Thus everything goes back to the internal evidence of the two texts themselves. And here I feel the verdict is clear and unhesitating. The Syriac text is in every way more original and superior to the Greek. It is difficult indeed to offer any formal demonstration, for neither text is a literal rendering of the other. But to give an idea of the characteristics of the two texts I will set down a few quite literal English translations of parallel passages side by side.

1. (The actual beginning of the tale).

Syriac.

Greek.

§ 4 =

v. *Dobschütz*, p. 150.

In the year 707 by the

In the year 707 of Alex-

1) The phrase “royal city” (*Medīnath Malkūtha*) makes the conjecture possible that this part of the colophon originally belonged not to *Euphemia*, but to the Story of the Wife of Patricius and the Merchant of Harran (Appendix I).

reckoning of the Greeks the [Huns] ¹⁾ had come forth [into the Roman territories], and they captured many captives and laid waste the country and came as far as Edessa.

And Addai the Stratelates of those days did not give permission for the *Foederati* to go out against them, because of treachery in the midst, and for this cause the armies of the Romans came down and lived in Edessa some time.

Now a certain Goth....

ander King of Macedon that evil and destructive nation the Huns, having come into the Roman territories and laid waste various places and taken many captives, arrived as far as the district round Edessa.

[no equivalent].

For this cause armed forces gathered from various regions occupied the city and lived in it a long time.

Now a certain Goth....

[The point to notice is that the clause which gives definite local and political information is absent from the Greek].

2. (Sophia's ejaculation, when against her better judgement she consents to let the Goth marry Euphemia).

§ 10 =

v. *Dobschütz*, p. 156₇.

"God of the orphans and the widows, come to my help! My God, this business

"Thou, Lord, Father of the orphans and Judge of the widows, look upon what

1) The Nitrian MS has 'Persians' on an erasure. The Huns are mentioned below in § 35, along with the Persians, as in the Greek. On the Syriac text of the first sentence see the Note on the passage.

is entrusted to thee, to whom alone it is revealed!" is being done, and do not look away from my orphan child or helpless me! For trusting in thy good Providence I am enduring the marriage of my unhappy daughter with an unknown man, who calls thee to be witness and surety of his own promises".

[On p. LIV Prof. v. Dobschütz says: "Besondere Freude aber hat der Verfasser offenbar an der Komposition von Gebeten . . . hier führt ein griechischer Theologe die Feder". Now that we have the Syriac original, we can see exactly how much is due to the Greek theologian!]

3. (Sophia visits the shrine of the Confessors with Euphemia and the Goth before they go away to his home).

§ 13 =

v. *Dobschütz*, p. 158₁₄.

And when they had sealed their prayer with a tear, the mother of the girl drew near and took hold of her by her right hand and set her upon the Coffin ¹⁾ of the Confessors, saying to her false

And as they were standing by the reliquary of the Holy ones she said to that wicked man:

"Not otherwise will I entrust my daughter to thee, except first having

1) The Syriac has *Gluskēmā*, an adaptation of *γλωσσόκομον* (Joh. XIII 29), as in *S. & G.* 67, and also in Barhebraeus, *Chr. Syr.* 327₁₂. The Greek has *λάρναξ* and *σορός*.

son-in-law: "Give me for a surety the hidden Power that dwells on these Holy ones! Both thou dost know, and they do, according as thou dost treat her!"

touched the bier of the Holy ones thou acknowledge them as sureties that thou wilt do nothing to cause the girl pain, but will treat her with all due respect and harmony".

[The Syriac uses the technical term in use at the Shrine; the Greek uses synonyms. For Sophia to put the girl on the Coffin, as in the Syriac, may have seemed wanting in respect; the Greek implies a mere conventional touching. And, finally, I venture to claim (all due allowance being made for difference of national idiom, and for the execrable taste of later Greek prose generally), that the Syriac is literature, and that the Greek is not. This is equally the case whether we take the Syriac from the Nitrian MS (here given), or from the slightly curtailed text of the Paris MS].

4. (Euphemia, now degraded to be a slave-girl, has a son: the Goth's wife is jealous of her).

§ 20 =

v. Dobschütz, p. 168₆.

And when the days had come near for the girl to bear, there was born to her a man-child, and he was like his father exceedingly; and when the wife of the Goth saw the baby that he was like her husband she was struck with envy, and with

And when the days were accomplished the girl bore a man-child, in looks exactly like the Goth. And when the woman saw it she was taken with such fury as in every way to confirm in herself the opinion that she must anyhow kill the child.

great indignation she said to her husband: "Look and see how like he is to thee! Now therefore cavilling and lying are of no use to thee!" And when many times with indignation she had said this to him, he saith to her: "Thou hast authority over her; every thing thou dost wish to do to her, do, for she is thy slave".

But to her husband she said: "It is vain for thee to contend that thou hast not had intercourse with the girl, for the child that has been born quite refutes that, he being so exceedingly like to thee". But he again kept asserting the contrary, saying this indeed is not true, but (it is true) that thou hast authority to use the girl as thou wilt, as she is thy slave and subject to everything that seems good to thee".

[I cannot believe that the vigour of the Syriac here can be due to a translator: the gruff answer of the Goth to his nagging spouse is ever so much more effective than the unnecessary lie in the Greek. And note the exaggeration in the first sentence: *χαρακτῆρα Φέρων ἀπαραλλάκτως προσεικότα τῷ Γότθῳ* is an absurd phrase to use of a baby a few months old. The Syriac really implies no more than that the child of the Syrian girl had blue eyes, and perhaps a promise of light hair].

5. (Sophia, to make the Goth perjure himself, pretends to be anxious to have news of Euphemia).

§ 37 =

v. Dobschütz, p. 188₁₄.

Sophia his mother-in-law

Sophia

began to ask him, saying:

asks him, saying:

“What is thy tale, my son? And what is the tale of Euphemia my daughter? How did the journey treat you? Has a son been born to you? Is it a boy or a girl? For I have been much in anxiety about you, because of the length of the journey”.

“How by God’s help did you bear the journey? And how did my daughter recover from the journey, she being with child? For I was in much anxiety about you, lest some misfortune should meet you on the way, but I was especially grieved about Euphemia my daughter, because she was with child”.

[On p. LIV attention is drawn by v. Dobschütz to Sophia’s speech as a notable example of the narrator making his characters talk piously. I cannot believe that a translator would have left the piety out. The last sentence is much longer and perhaps more original in the Paris MS: “For I have been in much anxiety about you, on account of having let my daughter go over, and how you went forth hence. And for this I was anxious, because a long journey ye had to go, that it should not have happened to my daughter from the fatigue of the journey”].

These extracts are probably enough; they could indeed be multiplied indefinitely, but what I have quoted gives the reader a fair idea of the characteristics of the two texts. In every way the Syriac is more natural, more secular, more unconventional. In a word, it is more original, and in what follows I shall venture to treat it as such ¹).

1) The relative excellence of the two Syriac MSS in details is discussed in the next chapter.

§ 2.

What are we to make of the tale of Euphemia? With what kind of commendatory letters are we to hand it over to the historians and to the students of Comparative Religion? "Good wine needs no bush", and it might be thought that such an excellent tale is better without any Introduction. There are however one or two points which it seems proper to bring forward here, as some of them might easily escape notice.

The story itself is laid in the year 396 A.D. and the years immediately following. But the narrator has only learned it from the old Verger, the *Paramonarius*, who tells it in order that it may not be unknown to succeeding generations. This brings us down another 30 years at least, so that the earliest date we could possibly assign to it is 430 A.D., with every probability that it is later still. We therefore see at once that it forms no part of the great series of which the Doctrine of Addai, the Acts of Sharbel and the Acts of Guria and Shmona and of Ḥabbib form links. When the tale was first being written down, the Shrine of the Confessors built by Bishop Abraham in 350 was about a century old and the cult of the Saints themselves thoroughly well established in Edessa. Whether we treat the story of Euphemia as history or myth, it can neither endanger the historicity of Shmona, Guria and Ḥabbib, nor on the other hand legitimate the details of their legend, which had already received its final shape when the episode of the Goth is alleged to have taken place.

It should further be noticed that the names and dates mentioned in the story exhibit a considerable,

though not quite accurate, knowledge of Edessene affairs. The invasions of the Huns really did take place in 395—6¹). Moreover the General (*Stratelates*) in command at the time was really named Addai. “Joshua Stylites”, writing at Edessa in 507, speaks of the devastation then wrought; when all Syria was delivered into the hand of these same Huns “through the treachery of the Prefect Rufinus and by the supineness of Addai the General”²). The name of Eulogius for a Bishop of Edessa is also appropriate, though Eulogius was Bishop from 379 to 387, the Bishops of Edessa during the time of our tale being Cyrus (died 396), Silvanus (died 398), and Peḱīda. It is one of the notable peculiarities of the story of Euphemia that the author is better informed about the secular history of Edessa than about ecclesiastical affairs.

I do not think we need to look for theological considerations to explain how a Goth comes to be the villain of an Edessene legend. Professor v. Dobschütz (p. LV) suggests that Edessa was famed for its orthodoxy and the Goths were known to be Arians, and that this is why the Goth is painted in such dark colours. But the Goth’s orthodoxy or heterodoxy is never mentioned,

1) The Edessene Chronicle specifies July 395, and within a year Cyrillona tells us that a fresh incursion was threatened.

2) Ⲁⲗⲁⲓⲥⲓⲗⲓⲧⲉⲥ ⲡⲣⲓⲛⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲓ ⲗⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲓ ⲗⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲓ ⲗⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲓ ⲗⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲓ ⲗⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲓ ⲗⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲓ ⲗⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲓ ⲗⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲓ ⲗⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲓ ⲗⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲓ (J St § 9). On the treachery of Rufinus, see *Gibbon* III 224. It is convenient to go on calling the author of the Chronicle edited by Wright “Joshua the Stylite”, though there is good reason for doubting that this was the name of the author. What is not doubted is that the author was an eyewitness of what he describes, and that he wrote at Edessa in 507 A.D.

and the good people of Edessa had quite sufficient reasons of their own for misliking the Teutonic mercenaries of the Byzantine Emperor. Let us listen once more to "Joshua the Stylite":

"Those who came to our aid", says he (§ LXXXVI), "plundered us almost as much as our enemies. . . . Because the courts and inns of the city of Edessa were not sufficient for them, they lodged with the artisans in their shops. Before the eyes of every one they illused the women in the streets and houses. From old women, widows and poor, they took oil, wood, salt, and other things, for their own expenses; and they kept them from their own work to wait upon them. In short, they harassed every one, both great and small, and there was not a person left who did not suffer some harm from them".

And again, in April, 506, "because the city of Edessa was not sufficient for the Goths, they were quartered also in the villages, and likewise in all the convents, large and small, that were around the city. Not even those who lived in solitude were allowed to dwell in the quiet which they loved, because upon them too they were quartered in their convents.

"Because they did not live at their own expense from the very first day they came, they became so gluttonous in their eating and drinking, that some of them who had regaled themselves on the tops of the houses went forth by night, quite stupefied with too much wine, and stepped out into empty space and fell headlong down, and so departed this life by an evil end. Others as they were sitting and drinking sank into slumber, and fell from the housetops and died on the spot. Others again

suffered agonies on their beds from eating too much. Some poured boiling water into the ears of those who waited upon them for trifling faults. Others went into a garden to take vegetables, and when the gardener arose to prevent them they slew him with an arrow, and his blood was not avenged. Others still, as their wickedness increased and there was no one to check them, since those on whom they were quartered behaved with great discretion and did every thing exactly as they wished, because they gave them no opportunity for doing them harm, were overcome by their own rage and slew one another. That there were among them others who lived decently", continues our Chronicler, addressing his patron, Abbot Sergius, "is not concealed from thy knowledge, for it is impossible that in a large army like this there should not be some such persons found" (§ XCVI).

It was not the agreement of the Goths with the Hierarchy of Alexandria that so unfavourably impressed the people of Edessa, but rather their unmistakable likeness to their cousin Mr Thomas Atkins. As we read the description in "Joshua" it needs but little effort to imagine that we are listening to the complaint of a Bengali Babu about some European soldiers who have got out of hand. The European often appears rude, ungovernable and intemperate to the native of Asia, and if the tale of Euphemia really originated in Edessa or in the neighbourhood it is not surprising that the Goth is represented in a very unfavourable light. It is not necessary to assume that the story is later than 506, for the householders of Edessa may very well have had earlier experiences of Gothic soldiers billeted upon them, especially in 396 and the following years.

§ 3.

It is fashionable now-a-days to regard large numbers of the Kalendar Saints as minor deities of the pagan world, and to treat the Legends told about them not as so much untrustworthy or perverted historical reminiscence, but rather as pagan myth in a more or less Christian disguise. That this is true in certain cases is demonstrated practically beyond a doubt¹⁾. In such legends it is unscientific to rationalise. But the case is different here: at any rate the matter is not quite simple.

There are, it is true, certain features in the Story of Euphemia which do suggest that the Confessors stand in the place that Dr Rendel Harris has vindicated for the Heavenly Twins. According to Dr Harris the Twins are the patrons of the bride-chamber and bestow benedictions on the newly-married²⁾, and are also the avengers of perjury³⁾. This is exactly the rôle that the Confessors play in our tale. If, then we knew nothing more of Shmona, Guria and Habbib than our tale tells us, we might be inclined to regard them as mere surrogates for the Great Twin Brethren. It is true that neither the names nor the dates fit, but that is a trifle! In this case, however, we are dealing with Saints who are really historical, to whatever extent their Legend may have received unhistorical touches. It is therefore not necessary here to suppose that the earliest and purest texts

1) The best instance perhaps is SS. Florus and Laurus, with which Dr Rendel Harris's book on *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* starts off.

2) *Harris*, p. 15.

3) *Harris*, p. 56.

of our tale will exhibit "Dioscurism" in the clearest form. As a matter of fact, the most "Dioscuric" trait of all is only found in the late and rhetorical Greek Encomium of Arethas, in which he makes the Confessors carry away Euphemia on white steeds (*λευκοῖσ γοῦν ἔποχοι ἵπποισ*, v. *Dobschütz*, p. 221₈)¹). So far as the earlier forms are concerned this method of transit is only suggested by the lively imagination of Sophia: "Guria, Shmona and Ḥabbib", she says to the Goth (§ 40 = p. 150₄), "they became swift steeds for Euphemia, and delivered her from your hands!" The word used (*rkūba*) is quite vague, and signifies "carriage" as well as "animal ridden": in fact, the Greek has *ἄξιον ὄχημα* (v. *Dobschütz*, 192₅). This point about the steeds is a mere detail, but it is worth notice as warning us that detached mythological features in the Legend of a Saint do not always belong to the original form of the story.

I should like to point out that another way of treating this Legend of Euphemia is open to us, a frankly rationalistic way. We are dealing with a story that seems to have originated on the spot with which it deals, a story which dealt not with the remote past, but with real places and contemporary conditions of life. How do such stories begin? What is there to prevent us taking the tale of Euphemia for plain fact?

What stands in the way, of course, is the Miracle. Opinions differ about the theoretical possibility of "Mi-

1) It has not escaped Prof. v. Dobschütz that this may be described as a *Dioskurenzug*. He remarks very sensibly (p. XLII): "Man sieht, wie leicht solche Motive sich einschleichen: das Thaumata lässt in der Tat die Art der Entrückung ganz unberührt; hier klaffte eine Lücke; die Phantasie war nicht müßig, sie auszufüllen!"

racles", but I suppose no one at the present day will seriously accept the story of Euphemia's transit in one night from the land of the Goths to the Shrine of the Confessors as either probable or credible. Yet the story is in some respects so unlike the usual type of hagiological tale, that I find it difficult to believe that a real occurrence does not lie at the back of it. As a matter of evidence we have to distinguish three witnesses. First comes the Narrator: let us suppose that he really did hear this tale from the Paramonarius. To the Narrator, then, we will put down the literary form, and a good deal of the speeches, regarded as literary compositions. Then comes the Paramonarius, an old man, who had no doubt often told the tale to pious folk, and we may imagine it lost nothing in his hands, especially so far as concerned the part played by his patrons the Confessors. Then we come to the real witness, to Euphemia, whose tale, poor girl, we have not got, but only the tale which the old Paramonarius tells for her.

There are one or two features in the tale as we have it, which seem to me curious. The first is, that in all the last part Euphemia is silent. Her mother Sophia acts for her and speaks for her. She says not one word to the Goth, good or bad, and she makes no answer to the Stratelates. It looks to me as if she had mentally broken down.

Another point in the tale that is left unexplained, and therefore may lead us to a clue, is the mention in § 24 (= p. 141₁) of "the people of the city" where the Goths were. The Goths, after the death of Euphemia's mistress, the Goth's wife, drag Euphemia to the tomb and shut her up there. "And while they were dragging her along

and beating her the people of the city saw her, and they were grieved for her". And then the Goths "take thought lest the people of the city should come and let her out, and accordingly roll a big stone against the door to keep her safe prisoner all night ¹). But what the Goths could roll by day the "people of the city" could roll away by night. It is evident from this passage, the important parts of which have no equivalent in the Greek, that these Goths are to be thought of as settled in some place within the Roman Empire, somewhere in Anatolia or even nearer to Edessa, where the Roman Law was normally administered, although in this particular case the "judge" lives some way off. And further, it is evident that the native provincials had no particular love for the fair-haired barbarians, quartered in their midst in accordance with the exigences of Imperial policy. Is it not possible that "the people of the city" did take Euphemia out of the tomb by night, while the Goths were occupied (as usual) in drinking?

Suppose this were the case — and it is not such a very improbable supposition — I imagine that the rescuers would find Euphemia in a state of collapse. The townsfolk, among whom we know that she used to go to market, knew that she came from Edessa. They would naturally want to get her out of the way as soon as possible, and some one who is going towards Mesopotamia takes her. She was probably quite out of her mind from the shock, a condition which would secure her respectful treatment in the Orient. Most likely she

¹) According to the Paris MS the "people of the city" did actually plan this, but the text of the Nitrian MS is preferable.

was speechless or incoherent, and little could be got out of her beyond "Urhai! Confessors of Urhai!" It is not necessary to suppose that she travelled with the same company all the way. At last Euphemia finds herself outside the walls of Edessa, by the knoll on which stands the Shrine of the Confessors. It would be the first considerable group of buildings that she would come to on her way from the West. She is quite unable to explain how she got there: the last that she can recollect is the horrible tomb, and the rotting body of the Gothic woman whom she herself had killed. But she recognises the Confessors' Shrine and she goes inside — and interrupts the service. Even as the story is told by the Paramonarius, whose chief concern no doubt is the honour and glory of the Saints over whose Reliquary he watches, we can see that Euphemia's story was quite incoherent. She was so changed, that at first Sophia did not recognise her daughter. She had reached home indeed, but she was little more than a wreck.

All this of course is frankly imaginative reconstruction of the transmitted story, based on hints which are let drop here and there. But it seems to me easier to believe that something of this kind happened, than to suppose that the story is altogether a work of fiction from beginning to end. It is difficult to regard Shmonā, Guria, and Ḥabbib as being really Dioscuri in a Christian dress; rather they may be regarded as having stepped into the place which the Dioscuri certainly filled in some other lands, and may once have filled in Edessa, as the Guardians of good faith.

§ 4.

And what was their own fate? What happened to the Coffin from off which the Goth received Euphemia? We pass down seven hundred years, to 1144 A.D. After some vicissitudes Edessa is in Christian hands again, under Joscelin the Second, grandson of the Lord of Courtenay. But when on Tuesday the 28th of November, 1144, Zengi the Atabek appeared before the walls of Edessa with his Turks, Joscelin and his men-at-arms were far away, somewhere near Antioch, and the town had to defend itself as well as it could. The Turks were encamped "over against the Sundial Gate by the Church of the Confessors", that is to say they were south of the town, near the SE. angle of the town-wall, which was where the Sundial Gate, now called the Harran Gate, was situated. Close by, inside the town, was the New Church of the Confessors, distinct from the ancient Shrine outside the walls on the NW. of Edessa. But just as in 503, the precious Relics had been brought inside the town during the war. For the rest we will leave Bar Hebraeus to tell the story. "They pitched their camp over against the Gate of the Sundial, by the Church of the Confessors, and raised against it seven mangonels¹⁾ with bowmen shooting arrows like showers of rain. And the citizens all of them, both great and small, and even the monks from the Mountain, were standing on the wall and fighting; and all the women

1) My readers may remember Richard of Cornwall, who "makede him a Castel of a milne-post" at the Battle of Lewis: the ballad suggests that "he weened that the wheels were *mangonels*".

were handing out stones and water and food to the fighters. And when those outside mined underground and came up to the wall, those inside countermined and made a sortie, and killed those whom they found in the mine, and then returned and built up the wall where the mine was" ¹⁾. This, by the way, is the siege of Edessa of which Gibbon says (VI 447) that the city was "feebly defended by a timorous and disloyal crowd of Orientals"! ²⁾)

The Turks continued to mine the walls, especially two of the towers, "and when the towers were near to fall, Zengi the Atabek sent to the Edessenes, and said 'Take two men from us as hostages, and send two men to us that they may see how near the towers are to fall, and surrender the city before ye be taken prisoners at the sword's point and perish!'" But Papias, the captain of the Franks in Edessa, trusted that Joscelin would come to relieve him in time, and so he refused to capitulate. "Then the Turks set fire to the wooden supports by which the towers were propped up, and they fell; and when the Turks began to enter by the breach, the citizens from within with Papias and the Bishop ³⁾ stood in the breach and kept the Turks from entering, and the breach was filled with heaps of the slain both of besieged and besiegers. But when all the people were congregated at the breach, the Turks saw that the wall was deserted of fighting men, and they set ladders and got up; and when those inside saw that the Turks had

1) Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronicon* 326.

2) Gibbon was probably following William of Tyre XVI 4, 5, who regarded the people of Edessa as 'a nation of shopkeepers'.

3) Read **ܩܝܨܝܘܢ** (without ••): evidently Bishop Basil is meant.



got possession of the wall they lost heart and began to flee to the citadel.

“And from that moment”, continues Bar-Hebraeus, or rather the excellent source which he is transcribing, “what mouth does not hesitate to tell, what finger does not tremble to write, about the consternation that reigned at 9 o'clock that Saturday morning, the 13th January! ¹⁾ The Turks entered with drawn sword and it drank the blood of old and young, of men and women, of priests and deacons, of monks and anchorites, of nuns and virgins, of children, of bridegrooms, of brides. Alas, for the bitter tale! The City of Abgar, the Friend of Christ, was trodden down in the dust for our sins! Oh, the misery of it! Parents deserted their children and children their parents, the mother forgot her love for her little ones, and every one ran away up the hill!

“But the aged priests who were carrying the Coffins of the Confessors, when they saw the wrath, of which the Prophet said ‘The Wrath of the Lord I will endure because I have sinned’, for that very reason did not flee themselves, nor did they cease from prayer until the sword silenced them. And afterwards they were found with their vestments stained with their blood.

“Many of the mothers gathered their children as a hen does its brood, and waited, that either they might die together by the sword or might be taken to slavery in a body” ²⁾).

Bar-Hebraeus goes on to tell us that the gates of the citadel were shut against the fugitives, till at last the

1) The text has “3rd”, but it must be wrong: read  for .

2) *Chronicle* 327.

garrison recognised the face of Papias among them. Meanwhile thousands had been crushed to death, or were slain by the Turkish arrows. At last the Atabek gave orders for the slaughter to cease, and then Bishop Basil was found as he was being dragged along naked and barefoot, one of a string of captives, by the Turks. "And when Zengi the Atabeg saw him, he was struck by the nobility of his face and asked who he was. And when he learned that it was the Metropolitan, he gave orders to find a dress for him and had him brought into his tent. And he began blaming him, because they had not surrendered the city and so saved the wretched population from slaughter. But the Bishop replied: 'It has pleased Divine Providence to give to thee victory such as this and great and splendid renown among the kings, thy brothers; and to us unfortunates it has been given to look our liege lord in the face, in that we were no traitors and did not break our oaths!' And his words pleased the Atabeg, and he said to him: 'The truth hast thou spoken, Oh Mitrān! For to God and to men dear are they that keep their oaths, and above all those who persevere unto death!'"

With this tragic tale the Coffin of the Confessors disappears from history. Neither the Dioscuri of the ancient world nor the venerated remains of the Christian martyrs availed to stay the inundation of Islam. But it was a gallant end. The spirit of the cult to which Euphemia appealed survived in Bishop Basil, and the homage which the Atabek paid to good faith, the champions of which Shmona, Guria and Habbib had come to be in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, has proved a more enduring tribute than a costly mediaeval shrine.

ON THE TEXT OF THE WORKS HERE EDITED.

The various narratives relating to the Confessors of Edessa are found together in our Greek MSS. The Syriac originals, on the other hand, have been transmitted separately, so that the problems which come before an editor are different in each case. It will be convenient to begin with *Euphemia*, as it is in every way the best preserved of the documents.

EUPHEMIA.

For the story of Euphemia we have two MSS, the Nitrian MS in London (L) and the MS from Antioch in Paris (P).

L. — British Museum, Add. 14649, "written in a good regular hand of the 9th century" (*Wright*) by Simeon, a monk, who copied it for his own use. One Siméon, a priest of Tagrit (on the Tigris, S. of Mosul), gave it to the Nitrian Library: it does not appear whether this person was, or was not, identical with Simeon who wrote the book. L contains 26 pious tales, some of which are well known and taken from Greek sources. *Euphemia* is N^o. 17: N^o. 18 is the Story of the Merchant from Harran at Constantinople, printed in the Appendix to this volume: N^o. 20 is the Story of Simeon of Kephar 'Abdin, which is surely a Syriac original. [*Wright, CBM*, pp. 1108—1111].

P. — Bibliothèque Nationale, *Ms. Orient.* 234, written at Antioch in the 13th century, is also a collection of pious tales, of which *Euphemia* is N^o. 38. It contains several of the pieces found in L, but not in the same order. In the 13th century P appears to have been at Serin-Castra in Tur 'Abdin. [*Zotenberg, Cat. des Mss. Fonds syriaque*, pp. 182—185].

Besides L and P we have the Greek edited by v. Dobschütz, in which he distinguishes two types \mathfrak{G}^A and \mathfrak{G}^B .

L and P differ considerably in minor points, just as \mathfrak{G}^A and \mathfrak{G}^B do, but their differences do not correspond at all to anything in the Greek ¹). Indeed the Greek and the Syriac differ so much in character (as noticed in the general section about *Euphemia*) that we may almost always accept the combinations L \mathfrak{G} against P, and P \mathfrak{G} against L, as giving the original reading. Similarly, it may be added, the agreement of \mathfrak{G}^A or \mathfrak{G}^B with the Syriac should be regarded as giving the original reading of the Greek translation.

To take this latter point first, v. Dobschütz is right in § 24 to read *δίκην λεόντων* (= \mathfrak{G}^A) and not *δίκην λέγοντες* (= \mathfrak{G}^B), for both L and P have "like lions". Again in § 24, *καὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος δυσωδίας ἀρκούσης πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τῆς κόρης* (= \mathfrak{G}^A) is better than *τὴν τοῦ σώματος δυσωδίαν μὴ φέρουσα ἢ κόρη* (= \mathfrak{G}^B), because L and P have "the stink of that corpse grew more stifling *and was killing her*". On the other hand the Syriac MSS support *παρμονάριος* for the Custodian's title against the *προσμονάριος* accepted by v. Dobschütz: in general, however, it may be said that \mathfrak{G}^B is appreciably further away from the Syriac than \mathfrak{G}^A , and the publication of the Syriac evidence will call for very little change in v. Dobschütz's Greek text.

To decide between L and P is a more difficult matter. The fact that L is about 300 years older than P is perhaps balanced by the claim of P to have been copied

1) It should be added that \mathfrak{G}^B in *Euphemia* in no way corresponds to \mathfrak{G}^2 in *Shmona and Guria*.

from an old book. Moreover the monk Simeon, who wrote L for his own use, may be supposed to have been free to make whatever alterations in this non-canonical tale that may have seemed good to him. On examination, we find the following features:

1. *Orthography*. In matters of orthography P is sensibly inferior to L. Characteristic of P are forms like **כרכ**, **כרכ** (poison), **כבול**, **כפונא** (for **כפונא**), **כפונא**.¹⁾ The extra **כ** after the 3rd. sing. fem. perf., which is frequent in L, rarely appears, yet **ככ** occurs both in L and in P (57₁). We may notice **ככ** P 59₃ 65₇, **ככ** P 67₉, **ככ** P 60₇, where L has the shorter forms **ככ**, **ככ**, **ככ**. At 51₅ 59₁₂ **ככ** and **ככ** occur in P. For the 3rd. pl. perf. fem. we find in 65₁ **ככ** L, but **ככ** P (a blunder); in 65₃ **ככ** L, but **ככ** P; in 67₁₀ both L and P have **ככ**²⁾. Besides these, L in 50₁₄ has **ככ**.

The rare form **ככ** ('rejoiced') occurs in L, p. 62₄, where P has **ככ**.

The word **ככ** ('affidavit') is correctly written only in L. In P it is written **ככ** (e.g. 70₁₆)³⁾.

1) At 62₁₈ the absolute state of **ככ** (a captive girl) is **ככ** in L, but **ככ** in P.

2) At 70₁₃ L has **ככ**: probably we should read **ככ** with P.

3) **ככ** appears as a word in Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*, giving the reference "Pat.Vit." and quoting our text. "Pat.Vit." is explained as a MS used by Quatremère. It is evident therefore that E. M. Quatremère had read the Story of Euphemia from the Paris MS half a century ago for lexical purposes!

In the Greek we find *διδασκαλία*, but what is meant is a *διδασκαλικόν*, i.e. a document giving information about a case (*Labbé* IV 1641 B).

In view of emendations of dates proposed elsewhere in this volume it is worth notice that 'seven' where it occurs in the narrative (58₉) is written out in full in L, but \bar{v} in P.

2. *Agreements of L G against P.*

§ 26 = 60₅₋₆ Euphemia cries out in the tomb:

"Guria and Shmona and Habbib, *pillars and props of Edessa the Blessed*".

P omits the words in italics, but the Greek (176₁) has Σ. Γ. καὶ "Α., στῦλοι καὶ ἀσφάλεια τῆς πόλεώς μου Ἐδέσης.

§ 31 = 62₈₋₉ Euphemia begins her ejaculations of thans with:

"*All that the Lord willeth He doth in heaven and in earth*".

P omits these words, but they are in the Greek (180₇).

§ 33 = 63₆ The Custodian, hearing Euphemia's ejaculations, looked at her *marvelling* (ἰσπίδω 12) according to L, but *in exasperation* (ἰσπίδω 12) according to P. The Greek (180₂₁) has ἐθαύμαζεν. But for the Greek evidence we might have been tempted to regard the reading of P as original, as it is a rarer word, less obvious in the context, and yet capable of explanation, seeing that Euphemia was making a commotion and the Custodian had not yet heard her amazing story.

§ 34 = 64₁₂ Euphemia tells her tale before her mother and *those that chanced to be present* (ἀβροθεκῆ 12).

P is much shorter, and the Greek quite paraphrastic, but the phrase ὥστε πάντα τοὺς παρατετυχηκότας καὶ τῶν διηγηθέντων ἐπακούσαντας θαυμάσαι (184₁₂) makes it clear that **αὐτοδικία** underlies it, and that therefore the longer reading of L is here original.

§ 35 = 66₄ The Goth comes back to Edessa, because of its enemies "the Persians, I mean, and the Huns, who had *agreed* to make war in this country". So L, but P has *were sent* instead of *agreed*. The Greek (186₁₅) has συμφωνησάντων γὰρ Οὐννων τε καὶ Περσῶν, evidently supporting L.

3. *Agreements of P G against L.*

§ 4 = 46₂₋₄ P has "In the year 707 A.Gr. the Huns had come forth into the territory of the Romans, and they laid waste the country and captured many captives".

L has *Persians* for *Huns* (but on an erasure), omits *into the territory of the Romans* and transposes the final clauses. In agreement with P the Greek (150₆) has τὸ πονηρὸν ἔθνος καὶ ὀλέθριον, Οὐννοὶ Φημι, ἐπελθόντες τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς μέρεσι καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ διαφόρους τόπους πορθήσαντες καὶ πλείστην παραλαβόντες αἰχμαλωσίαν.

§ 24 = 58₁₃ "The Goths devised to deliver Euphemia to the judge. And because the judge was far away, they" took her punishment into their own hands. So L. In P the Goths devised to deliver her to the judge, *and do many tortures upon her. And* the judge was far away, &c. This is inferior as literature: if Euphemia is to be brought to trial, her trial ought to come first before the sentence. But the extra clause is represented

in the Greek (174_{3ff}): ἐβούλοντο τοίνυν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ταύτην παραδοῦναι καὶ βασάνοις πικραῖς ὑποβαλεῖν καὶ οὕτω τῆς παρούσης ἐξεῶσαι ζωῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἄρχοντος κεχωρισμένου κ.τ.λ.

§ 37 = 69₁ Several clauses that are absent from L are added in P at the end of Sophia's speech to the Goth. The Greek (188₁₆₋₁₈) is very free, but the words ἐν πολλῇ . . . ὑπῆρχον Φροντίδι obviously correspond to **𐌲𐌹𐌸𐌰 𐌸𐌹𐌶𐌰**, which are in P but not in L, so that the Greek supports the longer text here.

§ 39 = 69₁₀ Here ὀλολυγμοῦς ἀναπέμφασα μετὰ πλείστης ταραχῆς ἐνεβριμήσατο (190₁₁) corresponds to "cried out with a loud voice" (**𐌸𐌹𐌶𐌰 𐌸𐌹𐌶𐌰**) in L, but "was agitated and wailed with a loud voice" (**𐌸𐌹𐌶𐌰 𐌸𐌹𐌶𐌰**) in P.

§ 44 = 73₅ The Stratelates asks the Goth how he dared to *bridle freedom with the yoke of slavery*, according to L. In P we find *bridle freedom with the cruel yoke of barbarian dominion*. The Greek (196₉) has ἐλευθέρων κόρην ζυγῶ δουλείας ὑποβέβληκας ὑπὸ βάρβαρον καὶ Φοινικὴν δεσποτείαν, or (as the inferior recension has it) ἐλευθ. κόρην ζ. δουλ. βαρβάρους ὑποβαλῶν. Here again the Greek supports P against L, which seems to present an inferior paraphrase. It is worth notice that the variations between L and P have nothing to do with the variations between \mathfrak{G}^A and \mathfrak{G}^B .

These examples will suffice to shew that L and P are independent of each other, and that the more primitive reading is found sometimes in one, sometimes in

the other. As a rule the Greek version gives little help, being too paraphrastic. In § 15 = 52₂, however, *σχῆμα δουλικόν* points to ܠܫܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܠܥܘܠܝܬܐ in Syriac, lit. "garments of slave-girlhood", i.e. "the costume of a slave-girl". Here L has ܠܫܘܢܝܘܬܐ "of widowhood", which is inappropriate; P has ܠܫܘܢܝܘܬܐ "of slave-girls", which is passable, but the scribe seems to have originally written something beginning with ܝܠܐ, so that P's final reading is probably only a clever emendation of what we find in L.

It should further be pointed out that in § 19 = 54₁₄, where L says that Euphemia's mistress treated her with "great hatred and great enmity", P presents us with "much hatred and enmity without end". Opinions may differ as to which is better style, but I think there is little doubt that ܠܫܘܢܝܘܬܐ . . . ܠܫܘܢܝܘܬܐ would be more likely to be turned into ܠܫܘܢܝܘܬܐ . . . ܠܫܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܠܥܘܠܝܬܐ than *vice versa*. We must therefore allow in P for conscious stylistic alterations.

Other inferior readings of P are to be found in § 2 = 45₂¹); § 4 = 46₉; § 19 = 55₈ (P adds ܠܫܘܢܝܘܬܐ); § 24 = 59₄; § 27 = 60₁₀²); § 29 = 61₃; § 31 = 61₁₃ (for L, see Judges VI 21); § 35 = 65₁₂; § 36 = 66₁₄—67₄.

On the other hand, the whole address of Euphemia to the Confessors in § 17 = 53₁₁₋₁₅ is more vigorous in the text of P, as well as shorter, than in that of L. Here however the Greek gives no textual help.

The comparative merits of L and P being so difficult to determine, I have thought it best to print L as it

1) *Haiklā* in later Syriac had the definite meaning of 'nave'.

2) Here possibly the Greek may induce us to combine L and P.

stands, only removing one or two slips of transcription, at the same time giving in the apparatus all the variants of P, so that any one may easily reconstruct an eclectic text as he pleases. I have not attempted to indicate the readings supported by the Greek, as it is in general so free and paraphrastic that its evidence could only be given by means of elaborate quotations. For convenience of reference, however, I have inserted in the margin the 46 chapters into which v. Dobschütz divides the narrative. They are not very suitable divisions for the Syriac text, as the Greek version makes many omissions in the less edifying parts of the tale, so that the chapters are of varying length and sometimes include distinct incidents.

This elaborate discussion of the Syriac text of *Euphemia* may appear somewhat disproportionate. My special reason for inserting it is to suggest to the imaginations of my readers how very much more serious the transmitted variants to *Shmona and Guria* and to *Habbib* would have been, if we had not unfortunately been dependent for each of these important texts upon a single MS. We may roughly compare the 9th cent. MS of *Habbib* in value to L, and the 15th cent. MS of *Shmona and Guria* to P. It is reassuring to find, in the case of *Euphemia*, that the later MS, though depraved in orthography and under some slight suspicion of having been here and there subjected to stylistic 'improvements', has nevertheless preserved in essentials the substance of the story and the general wording with which it was told centuries earlier ¹).

1) The two MSS which contain the story of Euphemia have recently

SHMONA AND GURIA.

For the Martyrdom of Shmona and Guria we have in Syriac only the 15th century paper MS found by Rahmani in the Monastery of S. Mark at Jerusalem belonging to the Syrian Jacobites, the text of which was published by him in 1899 ¹). In addition we have the two Greek versions published by v. Dobschütz, and the Armenian version. These versions are decidedly less paraphrastic than the Greek version of *Euphemia*, but they omit a good deal of the Syriac text at the end. The Armenian version, like the Latin version printed by v. Dobschütz, pp. 200—209, appears to me to have been made from \mathfrak{G}^1 , not direct from the Syriac. If so, it represents a slightly earlier form of \mathfrak{G}^1 than the extant MSS of that version.

In the chapter upon the historicity of these Martyr-

been used by Dr Wensinck of Utrecht for the story of Archelides (*Legends of Eastern Saints* I, by A. J. Wensinck, Leiden, 1911). L is Wensinck's D and P is Wensinck's A. I am not quite sure that I altogether accept Dr Wensinck's estimate of the relative originality of the two texts for the story of Archelides, as I am inclined to put L (= D) higher than he does. But in any case the transmission of 'Archelides' and 'Euphemia' must have been quite different before the tales came to be included in the large collections. Moreover the story of Archelides, who came from Constantinople and afterwards lived in Egypt, has nothing whatever to do with Edessa, and Dr Wensinck thinks that it was originally written in Greek.

1) *Acta Sanctorum Confessorum GURIAE et SHAMONAE adiecta latina versione primus edit illustratque Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani* (Rome, Loescher & Co, 1899. The Nitrian Library contained at least one copy of S. & G. in B.M. Add. 14732, N^o. 46 (Wright *CBM* 1144a), but unfortunately this part of the volume has altogether perished.

doms and in the Note upon their date I have given some reasons for believing that the narrative of Theophilus the eyewitness is really incorporated in these Acts, but that the form in which we now have them contains a good many statements, mainly of dates and synchronisms, which cannot have belonged to this original narrative. I believe that we can recognise, in a general way, the parts that belong to this original narrative and can more or less detect the parts that come from the later redactor. But that is a very different thing from reconstructing the original narrative in detail. Our documents belong to the later redaction, so that all they enable us directly to do is to reconstruct the earliest form of this later redaction. Anything beyond this, however probable, is of the nature of conjecture.

For example, the list of foreign Martyrs in § 5 is found in $\mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{G}^1$ as well as in J, though absent from \mathfrak{G}^2 . If we are to assume that they are absent from \mathfrak{G}^2 by direct transmission from the purest text, and not merely by arbitrary curtailment, we must regard J and $\mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{G}^1$ as forming a sub-group with a common ancestor. But in § 68 the list of foreign Bishops is found in J and \mathfrak{G}^2 , though absent from \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{G}^1 . If we are to assume that this list is a mere interpolation we must regard J and \mathfrak{G}^2 as forming a sub-group with a common ancestor. J shews no signs of having been interpolated from the Versions, and so the only conclusion we can draw is that both lists are genuine portions of the transmitted recension, whether or no we regard them as part of the work of Theophilus.

On the other hand J, our sole Syriac witness, contains a number of minor interpolations and glosses, some of

which seriously lower the credit of the narrative as an historical account. That they are merely glosses which have found a place in our 15th century codex through the misplaced piety of transcribers and are in no sense part of the original form of what I have called the later redaction, is clear from their omission by all the versions. The clearest case perhaps is in § 4, where J tells us of an innumerable company of unnamed Christian martyrs at Edessa, concerning which \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{G}^1 \mathfrak{G}^2 are quite silent, although there would have been no reason for omission, had the clause found in J originally formed part of the text. It seemed to me worth while to remove from the text the more obvious of these glosses, which indeed have no claim to belong to the fourth or fifth century at all.

The case is different with regard to the Peroration § 69 and § 70. These sections, it is true, are absent from \mathfrak{A} , \mathfrak{G}^1 and \mathfrak{G}^2 . But they are of the nature of a Colophon, and so might very well be left out by translators whose interest in the story ended with the burial of Shmona and Guria. The tone of pain and alarm in § 70, shewing real terror at pagan persecution, is quite unlike the usual style of late interpolations in the *Acta Martyrum*, and one or two phrases, such as the Sons of the Covenant being reduced to becoming 'watchers in the night', are unconventional to the verge of obscurity. I therefore retain § 69 and § 70 as part of the original form of this document, in fact as part of the work of Theophilus. But like the rest of the text of J it has suffered from minor interpolations. These, as the versions have failed us, we must detect by internal evidence alone. The important ones are the insertion of the Year of the Greeks

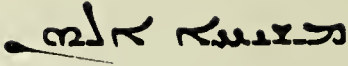
in § 69, which can be recognised as an interpolation by its disturbing the run of the sentence¹⁾, and the mention of “monks” and “monasteries”, which on the analogy of the interpolation of “nuns” in § 1. (J) we may surely omit. They were very likely inserted by the same hospitable scribe who in § 70 admitted Ḥabbib into the text after Shmona and his companion.

In minor matters I do not think we can mend the text much. J has all the poor orthography of late Syriac scribes. The Governor, for instance, is ܠܘܐܘܢܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ, not ܠܘܐܘܢܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ as in the other texts. Similarly ἀπὸ Φασίς in § 52 is ܘܠܘܢܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ, while the much earlier scribe of *Habbib* (in § 34) has ܘܠܘܢܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ. More important are questions connected with the irregular use of the Pluperfect, i.e. the insertion of ܠܘܐܘܢܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ or ܠܘܐܘܢܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ after a Perfect tense. In well preserved texts, such as the Old Syriac Gospels, this use of ܠܘܐܘܢܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ can generally be more or less justified²⁾. But in several passages of *Shmona and Guria* it appears to be simply intrusive, and very likely if we possessed another MS we should find it omitted the auxiliary. On the whole, however, J seems to be a fairly faithful representation of its exemplar, and the marginal notes giving wrong readings (e.g. ܠܘܐܘܢܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ : ܠܘܐܘܢܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ, where text has ܠܘܐܘܢܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ rightly) suggest that the scribe has recorded the readings of the exemplar where he thought he ought to correct it.

“*Christ our God*”. — There is one puzzling set of various readings connected with the Theology of our Acts

1) See above, p. 17.

2) F. C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshē* II 62, 63.

that is best dealt with here. The phrase  ("the Messiah, our God") occurs in a speech of Shmona (§ 8) and in a speech of Guria (§ 22), according to the Jerusalem MS, but not according to the Armenian or either Greek version. Further, Guria in § 10 speaks of "God the Father" according to the Syriac text, but the words are not in the versions. Which is here more original, the Syriac MS or the consensus of the translations?

The question is not so easy to answer as it might seem. If it were merely the addition of a conventional epithet of honour or adoration, no doubt we should reject it at once. But I do not think that the formula "Christ our God" is common in late documents, except in certain liturgical forms. It belongs to the language of worship rather than of controversy ¹).

It is clear that these phrases are all either part of the original writing, genuine reminiscences of the Confessors themselves, or else mere late interpolations in Codex J: had they been introduced by the general redactor they would recur in *Habbib*. That Jesus Christ is properly called "God" is, of course, assumed both in *S. & G.* and in *Habbib*, and indeed is definitely asserted in *Habbib* § 25, *S. & G.* § 20: the question at issue is only one of phraseology.

It seems to me difficult to believe that in *S. & G.* § 8*b* the wording of the Syriac can be the result of a scribe's interpolation. I quote the texts in parallel columns: *S. & G.* 8*b*

1) It occurs in the Jacobite and the Byzantine Liturgies (e.g. Brightman *L E W* 107₂₀, 392₃₂). See also *Priscillian* 23₁₂₋₁₈, 37_{23, 24}!

Syriac

“the One God, Lord of all,
Who is in heaven,
we will not call false, nor
exchange Him for an image,
made by men’s hands.
We do obeisance to
God the Messiah,
who by His grace has
delivered us from this error,
and He is our Light and
our Physician and our Life”.

G¹ (*v. Dobschütz, p. 10*)

“the One God, Master
and Lord of all,
we will not provoke, nor
worship Him with a wooden image,
the work of men’s hands.
For by His providence He
delivered us from this error
by our Lord Jesus Christ,
His beloved Son, who is our Light
and Redemption and Physician
and Life for ever”.

G² has (*v. Dobschütz, p. 11*)

“for Gods made with hands we will not exchange our One true God
and His only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who heals us and
delivers our souls from the error of idols”.

Surely in this passage the Syriac has the ring of originality. It was quite appropriate for the Martyrs to declare that they would worship Christ alone. But such a declaration might easily sound unsatisfactory, even heretical, to a Christian assembly: the relation of Christ to the Father needs to be more carefully expressed, and so we get the tame and colourless theology of G¹ and G².

A curious and instructive parallel to these variations between the Syriac and Greek texts of *Shmona and Guria* is presented by the variations between the genuine and interpolated texts of the Ignatian Epistles. The genuine Ignatius says “Our God, Jesus Christ” (*Ephesians* XVIII): this is turned by the interpolator into “The Son of God, begotten before the worlds and upholding all things by the design of the Father”¹).

1) There is a good discussion of this interpolator’s point of view in Lightfoots *Ignatius*, pp. 254—260.

The case for the genuineness of the phrase "God the Father" (*S. & G.* 10) is not so clear. In this passage the versions are quite literal in the immediate context, yet with one consent they omit the words

I have ventured to retain all the four passages here discussed, while recognising that the last-mentioned one is of doubtful genuineness. In *S. & G.* 22 it is not only a question of the formula "Christ our God", since \mathfrak{G}^2 omits many other words in the context, while \mathfrak{G}^1 enlarges and paraphrases the whole section, though omitting the words here in question. In the early part of *S. & G.* 8 it is possible that (as v. Dobschütz suggests) the text of \mathfrak{G}^2 is here most original: in that case we must regard the words *has* having been brought in from the latter part of the chapter.

The bracketed Passages. — In the text of *Shmona and Guria* as edited in this volume certain words and passages have been enclosed in brackets. These are words and passages which I believe to have come not from Theophilus but from the redactor. The bracketing of these words and the rejection from the text of certain words found in J but absent from $\mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{G}^1 \mathfrak{G}^2$, are essentially different processes. The latter is mere textual criticism, the removal of blemishes which have invaded the extant MS of these *Acts* during centuries of transmission. The brackets in §§ 1 and 5, on the other hand, belong to the conjectural restoration of the work of Theophilus, a work not directly represented by J or by the versions.

HABBIB.

For the Martyrdom of Ḥabbib we have in Syriac only one MS, *viz.* that used by Cureton (N).

N. — British Museum, Add. 14645, dated 936 A.D. This volume contains 41 Martyrdoms and Lives of Saints, beginning with the Acts of Judas Thomas. It is in fact the MS used by Wright and still remains the only known MS of the original Syriac text of the "Hymn of the Soul". The martyrdom of Ḥabbib is N^o. 20 (*fol.* 238*b*—245*a*), following those of Sharbel and Barsamya (Nos. 18, 19), but there is no trace of Shmona and Guria in the volume. [Wright, *CBM* pp. 1111—1116].

The main question concerning the text of *Ḥabbib* is the genuineness of those sections in N which have no equivalent in the versions. Out of the 51 sections and subsections into which v. Dobschütz divides the text, no less than 14 are omitted altogether in the Greek or are only represented by a few connecting words, while of the concluding peroration (§ 40) only the beginning is given ¹).

I venture to claim the whole of these sections as equally genuine with the rest. The peroration at the end stands or falls with the corresponding peroration in *Shmona and Guria* 69, 70. As corroborative evidence it should be observed that the mention of Constantine in *Ḥabbib* 39, omitted in the Greek, is attested by Jacob of Serug's Homily (Cureton *ASD* 95): This is unimpeachable 6th century evidence for the longer form.

Further, the passages omitted in the Greek contain

1) Those omitted are §§ 13*a*, 19*a-b-c-d-e*, 24*a*, 36*a*, 38*a*; those only represented by a few words are §§ 18*a*, 34, 36, 39 and 40.

many details that seem genuine, either because they agree with the rest of the martyrdoms or because they are in themselves unlike the manner of late interpolations. Thus the mention of the Emperors' Festival at the end of § 18*a* must surely be genuine, for (*a*) the word for this Festival (ܠܘܠܘܢ) is unique in Syriac literature, yet seems to be connected with a word for a Heathen Festival used in the Mishna ¹), and (*b*) the day intended appears to have been September 1, which for certain purposes did begin the Roman year, but was not so used in later times at Edessa. In § 34 we have a parallel to *Shmona and Guria* 52: it is hardly likely that a later Syriac interpolator who could write the flowing Syriac of Ḥabbib's death-sentence would have introduced the foreign legal terms ܘܡܫܢܘܢܐ and ܡܫܢܘܢܐ. In §§ 2, 35 the use of ܠܘܠܘܢ for the status of a Christian is in accordance with its use in the earliest Syriac literature: Ḥabbib the Deacon by the fact of his being in Orders must have been baptized, and so was a *Bar Kyāmā* ²). In § 36 we have in the Syriac, but not in the Greek, the words of the prayer which Ḥabbib is said to have prayed at the stake. Possibly the prayer may not be genuine in the sense of a report of words actually uttered, but in any case the language is uninfluenced by Nicene watchwords. In 38 and 38*a* we have the account of the burying of Ḥabbib by Jews and Heathen as well as by the Christians, a detail pleasing to us, but one I think more likely to have been omitted by later transcribers than inserted. Finally we have the

1) ^c*Aboda Zara* I 1: the word is possibly derived from *Idus*.

2) The word is similarly used in *S. & G.* 40.

peroration of Theophilus, which professes to be written while yet the issue of the war between Constantine and his rivals is uncertain. The persecution has stopped, but as yet no Edict of Toleration has been issued. There are certain words in this peroration which are puzzling, especially the apparent mention of Licinius as Constantine's opponent, but I find it difficult to believe that they discredit the whole section. And, as in the case of the peroration to *Shmona and Guria*, I find it especially difficult to believe that the note of alarm, still audible in the references to the terrible sea and the pitiless mines, comes from a writer who had only a far-off literary acquaintance with the Great Persecution.

At the same time there can be no doubt that (as Theophilus expressly states) the writing of the Story of Ḥabbib is later than the writing of that of *Shmona and Guria*. The writer is doing a thing for the second time and the tone is less exalted.

Errors in the text of N. — Codex N does not come before us with an entirely unknown textual character. It is reasonable to suppose that it will be no better and no worse in *Ḥabbib* than it is in the *Acts of Thomas* or the *Martyrdom of Sharbel*. For a good part of the Acts of Thomas we now can compare it with the ancient palimpsest fragments at Sinai. I think the general verdict on B.M. Add. 14645, here called N, would be that it was a fairly good text, omitting little that was genuine, while containing a number of inferior readings and a few downright blunders. The character of N in *Sharbel* may be gathered from the notes to Cureton's translation (*ASD* 177—186, where it is called B). Here it presents

one good reading, **פבניאוס** (= Fabianus) for **פבניאוס** of the older MS (p. 185), and one bad interpolation, *viz.* **מגדל ואל ואל** (p. 179), where the foreign Graeco-Roman name "Zeus" is brought in, contrary to the point of view of this Martyrdom ¹). The longer form of the text quoted in *ASD* p. 181 makes the sudden conversion of Sharbel a little less inexplicable, and that on p. 185 is either parallel to, or an imitation of, *Habbib* 39a and the end of 40 ¹).

In *Habbib* also the text of N is impossible in several places: instances are **אלהא** (§ 4), **זיזי** (§ 8), **זיזי** (§ 19). Reasons for preferring in § 39 the "Saturday" of the Greek to **זיזי** (= Friday) of N have already been given (p. 30). In § 38 and also in the parallel passage of *Sharbel* I retain **זיזי** instead of reading **זיזי** (pp. 15, 23).

The bracketed Passages. — In the translation to *Habbib* I have inserted one or two brackets to indicate words and passages which can hardly have come from Theophilus as they stand. The general grounds for doing so are the same as in the case of *Shmona and Guria*.

1) See above, p. 26.

TRANSLATIONS.

- I. SHMONA AND GURIA.
- II. ḤABBIB.
- III. EUPHEMIA AND THE GOTH.

I. MARTYRDOM OF SHMONA AND GURIA, CONFESSORS OF EDESSA.

1 In the year 618 of the kingdom of Alexander the
Macedonian King, [and that is the 14th year of the reign
of Diocletian who reigned 19 years, it being his 8th
Consulship and the 6th of Mysianus], in the magistracy
of Abba and of Abgar son of Zo^cora, in the days of 5
Konna, Bishop of Edessa, the wicked Diocletian had
made a persecution great and severe for all the churches
of the Messiah that were in every region of his domi-
nion in such wise that priests and deacons were being
tormented with bitter burdens, and Daughters of the 10
Covenant were standing in bitter exposure, and Chris-
tians were all in afflictions and anguish, and there was
no peace for any one going out or coming in, from the
rage of the oppressors who were compelling them to
2 offer sacrifices to the Gods. For the imperial command 15
pressed fiercely on many, and fear and trembling rested
on many, alarmed lest because of bodily afflictions any

1 618 (= J)] A G¹ G² 615: for a discussion of the chronology, see pp. 29—34.

4 Mysianus (= J)] A G¹ G² Maximianus

6 Konna] see Notes, p. 163.

10—11 Daughters of the Covenant] J + and nuns: see Introd., pp. 17, 22, and Notes, p. 172 f.

of them should deny faith in the Messiah. Because this was the endeavour of the persecutors with regard to the persecuted, that they should deny Jesus the Messiah and confess Zeus the dumb idol, and every one buying
5 and selling was to burn spices and incense before Zeus according to the command of the Emperor Diocletian.

Now Guria the hallowed from Sargai-[*Ḳeṭma*] and **3** Shmona his companion from Gannada were accused before the Judge of the country that men had heard
10 about them how they took care and pains about the worshippers of the Messiah and about the believers in the villages around them, encouraging them and saying to them "Beware, brethren, of your belief, and do not be afraid of the threats of persecutors, and do not deny
15 the Messiah, in whose hands are your spirits, and He gives you power and might and heroism over the wretched persecutors, whose spirit goes forth and they return to their earth, and in that day all their evil thoughts against you perish".

20 And as the Governor heard these things about them, **4** he sent and brought them before him and imprisoned them with many others with them. And some of them had been scourged and gone out from prison, and some of them had been combed with combs of iron and had

4—5 buying and selling] This seems to refer to the "Fifth Edict" (Eus. *MP* IX 2; Cureton, p. 31), issued in 309 A.D. See Lawlor in *Hermathena* XV (1908), p. 199.

7 Sargai-*Ḳeṭma*] J < *Ḳeṭma*: see Notes, p. 164.

11 and about the believers] $\mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{G}^1 (\mathfrak{G}^2) <$

14—15 and do not persecutors] $\mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{G}^1 (\mathfrak{G}^2) <$: this is a clear case of a genuine clause being preserved by J alone. \mathfrak{G}^2 altogether paraphrases and curtails here, as often.

17—19 Psalm CXLVI (CXLV) 4.

21 before him (= $\mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{G}^1 \mathfrak{G}^2$) J † and scourged them severely

departed and gone to their homes, — and those who were not scourged and whose bodies were not combed, they took their money and their property and their riches and released them — and others those persecutors had relaxed their hold of and let them go, and they 5
 5 went to their own places; and Guria and Shmona his companion had remained by themselves in prison, and their minds and their thoughts were being strengthened by having heard how they had companions and fellows in confession and in martyrdom in other countries[, such 10
 as Epiphanius and Peter and Pamphilus with many others in Caesarea of Palestine, Timotheus in Gaza of Palestine, Paul in Alexandria, Hesychius in Nicomedia, Peter in Meletine, Hermes and his companions, Roman soldiers in Nisibis on the eastern frontiers, who had been crowned 15
 through Heraclianus the Dux who was in command at that place].

6 Mysianus the Governor who was in Edessa City had commanded that they should bring before him Guria and Shmona the holy martyrs who were in prison, and 20
 7 he began to say to them thus: “Our Lords the mighty Emperors have commanded us that ye should sacrifice to the image called Zeus and cast incense on the altar placed before it, and that ye should deliver yourselves from the Christianity in which ye stand, because ye err 25
 indeed in not confessing that there are many Gods”.

8 Shmona answered and said: “As for us, we do not

4 released them] J † and many others, not to be numbered or computed, after the tortures and afflictions that they endured were killed in the love of the Messiah and received crowns of martyrdom and departed to the Kingdom: see *Introd.*, pp. 20, 80.

10ff. On this List of Martyrs, see *Notes*, p. 164.

18 Mysianus] see *Notes*, pp. 165, 175.

err indeed, because we stand in the truth, and our belief is the Christian belief, and it is our life in the Messiah; and far be it from us that we should leave the Messiah our God! And to this image of wood made
 5 by carpenters and fastened with blacksmiths' nails we will not bring spices, and to a dumb idol we will do no obeisance, which is a deed of error leading to perdition; and the one God, Lord of all, who is in Heaven, we will not call false, nor exchange Him for an image
 10 made by men's hands. We do obeisance to God the Messiah, who by His grace has delivered us from this error, and He is our Light and our Physician and our Life".

The Governor said: "The Emperors have commanded 9 thus, that the Gods be honoured, and it is necessary
 15 that the will of the Emperors be done zealously".

Guria answered and said to him: "Thou hast heard 10 from us that we will not leave our belief, and do the will of sons of flesh like ourselves, but we do the will of our Father in heaven, God the Father, and of His
 20 beloved Son Jesus the Messiah, who said 'Every one that shall confess Me before men I will confess him before my Father in heaven, and every one that shall deny Me before men, I will deny him before my Father and before His angels'".

25 The Governor said: "It is not then set in your mind 11 to do the will of the Emperors?" And Shmona and 12 Guria answered and say: "The will of the King of Kings in Heaven we will do".

1—4 and our belief God!] G^2 for our belief, the Christians' belief, which is our life, far be it from us to leave! (similarly A and G^1)

19 God the Father] A G^1 G^2 <: see Introd. p. 81ff.

21—24 Matt X 32f.

28 we will do] A G^1 G^2 + and the will of sin we will not do

- 13 The Governor says: "If in this mind, lo, ye remain,
 14 ye will die and not be left in life". Shmona answered
 and said: "Not indeed die, as thou dost suppose, but
 live indeed, according to what we believe, when we do
 the good will of our Creator" 5
- 15 And when the Governor heard these things, he had
 them brought and put in prison in a Caravanserai with
 priests and deacons their companions who were there,
 soldiers guarding them, both them and all the prisoners
 that were there. 10
- 16 Now after a few days the Emperor [Diocletian] had
 sent for Mysianus the Governor of Edessa and he had
 gone to him to the city of Antioch, and he commanded
 him how he should judge the priests and the deacons
 of the Christians who were not persuaded by him to 15
 sacrifice.
- 17 And when †Mysianus† came back from the Emperor
 to the city of Edessa, he had sent and brought Guria
 and Shmona from the Caravanserai in which they were
 imprisoned, with the Roman soldiers who were guarding 20
 18 them there; and when the two had entered and had
 stood before the Judge, he had begun to say to them
 19 thus: "Our Lords the Emperors have commanded that

5 our Creator] A G¹ G² (with some variation) † but if we do the will of the Emperors, we shall indeed perish, as thou sayest. And if He kill us, there is none to make us alive; but if thou kill us according to to the Emperors' command, we hope on Him that He will make us alive: for to Him belong both worlds and we for His Name's sake have given our bodies to death that in us may be fulfilled the will of our Saviour

.7 a Caravanserai] G² † the door of which looked towards the East, where the business of all the city used to be transacted: see Notes, p. 165.

12 Mysianus] J (*mg.*) has "MS. Lysianus"

17 Mysianus] J (*txt.*) Lysianus: see Notes, p. 175, on *Habbib* 5.

ye should sacrifice to the images, and cast incense on this burnt-offering, and pour a libation of wine before Zeus — this one that ye see; and he that will not put incense and cast spices and pour a libation of wine on
 5 the burnt-offering before Zeus, on a gridiron red-hot in the fire I am commanded to set him and on hooks made red-hot in the fierceness of the flame of the fire will I burn him, and with the knout it is commanded me to scourge you until your flesh drops off before you, —
 10 and indeed I will comb your sides until your lungs are visible, — and leaden balls I am commanded to heat and place under your armpits until your insides are lacerated, and I am commanded further to hang you by your arms until your shoulder blades are dislocated and with an
 15 iron fetter to shackle each of your feet, and I will hang you by the same foot that the fetter is fastened on. Other sentences I am commanded to inflict on you, until the will of the Emperors, however unwillingly, ye do”.

20 Shmona the victorious answered and said to him: 20
 “As for us, the sentences which for a short time thou makest us suffer, and then they pass away as if they had not been, we are not afraid of at all; but of Gehenna that is kept for pagans and apostates we are
 25 terrified and frightened. And our God, for whose Name’s sake before thee, lo, we are being tortured now, He will give us strength to endure them, sentences that are fierce for a little and afterwards cease and do not continue: until the spirit goes forth from the body they
 30 shew their strength, and afterwards are powerless and

8 the knout] emended from *Sharbel* (Cureton *ASD* 47₁₈).

fade. And therefore it is right for us to endure for a little time these threats of sentences that [thou hast] said, so that thereby we may be delivered from those who deny Him, those whose worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched".

5

21 The Governor said: "Depart from this error, as I said to you, because ye cannot find strength to endure the hard and bitter sentences that I am commanded to pronounce against you, until ye do the will of the Emperors".

10

22 Guria answered and said: "As for us, it is not in darkness we walk, like the worshippers of idols, because we are the sons of the light, and Jesus the true Light do we worship; and unto the end in our belief do we stand, and it witnesses about us that we are true. And 15 we are with Him and are the sheep of the pasture of that good and true Shepherd who gave Himself for us and delivered us from the authority of Satan, who now, lo, is stirring you up against us, so that he may manifest his will in the endeavour of your threats against us, 20 as those did his will who were obedient to him of old. But for us it is written that we should not be afraid of those that kill the body but the soul they are not able to kill; we are to be afraid of him that has an authority that torments soul and body in Gehenna, even the 25 Messiah our God, who is in authority above and below".

2—3 sentences said] J the judge that he said

4—5 cf. Isaiah LXVI 24, Mk IX 48.

13—14 and worship] A (G¹) G² <: possibly the word "Jesus" is an interpolation.

22 Cf. Matt X 28.

24—26 we are below] A G¹ G² <: on "the Messiah our God", see *Introd.*, p. 81ff.

The Governor says: "All this patience I have had²³ with you was not that ye should repeat your books before me and explain them to me, but I have had patience so that ye might do the will of the Emperors⁵ and escape troubles and go in peace to your homes".

Shmona and Guria say: "We hope in our true God,²⁴ as thou hast said, that from this Court of Justice of thine we go to our true home, to where Abraham is, with Lazarus the poor man lying in his bosom, who is¹⁰ the father of our Confession; and to our temporal habitations it is not set in our mind again to return or to enter them, but we go to the trysting-place of all the living".

The Governor said: "I do not wish that that which²⁵ ye see should come to you at my hands; therefore I have patience with you, that ye may be persuaded by me and do the will of the Emperors. I could, according to the authority that I have over you and is commanded me from the Emperors, have hurried on your tortures²⁰ and the torments of your bodies".

Shmona answered and said: "Once and twice thou²⁶ hast heard from us that our word is true, because our belief is sincere and the truth is plain; because also it is commanded us that our word shall be 'Yea, yea' and²⁵ 'Nay, nay'".

And when the Governor saw that they were not being²⁷ persuaded to sacrifice to the images, he had commanded Leontius the jailor to hang them both, Guria and Shmona, the holy Martyrs, by their arms above and³⁰ that they should be stretched out by their feet below.

8 Cf. Lk XVI 22.

24 Matt V 37.

28 Leontius] see Notes, p. 165.

And they hanged them both according to the command of the judge, and they had stretched them out exceedingly, and they remained hanging from the third hour to the ninth hour, and they were saying nothing but were in silence, while being dragged this way and that way and scourged bitterly.

28 And when the Governor released them he was marvelling at the strength of their endurance. And he had commanded the jailor to ask them while yet they were hanging that if they would do the will of the Emperors 10 he would take them down and release them from their afflictions.

And that jailor came near to them and asked them and said to them in a loud voice: "Have ye been persuaded to do the will of the Emperors?" But they, the 15 holy Martyrs, because they were not able to speak from the grievousness of the afflictions and tortures they were having and from the dislocation of their arms and their shoulder-blades and from the breaking of their bones, were making a sign with their heads that they were 20 30 not persuaded. And when they delayed long in their afflictions, until it wearied those who were standing by, the Governor had commanded the jailor to take them down from where they were hanging and to carry them off and to put them both in the prison which was called 25 the Dark Hole, and to put their feet into the stocks in the prison until the morning.

31 And the jailor carried them off and fettered their feet in the stocks and put them in the Dark Hole, and they stopped up the doors and windows before them that 30 they should not see the light at all; and they were three days in the month of August in the summer, and

no one brought them bread and they drank no water. And after three days and three nights that they did **32** not see the light, they had opened the door of the Hole before them. And they were imprisoned there in **5** the prison in that Dark Hole † all the month of August and all September and all October to the middle of November. And the Governor had sent and brought **33** them before him and said to them: "Wretched men, do the will of the Emperors and I will give you great gifts". **10** Shmona and Guria the victorious answered and said **34** to him: "We have said to thee that our belief and our word is one, and we are not changing it. And thou, what thou art commanded by the Emperor do quickly: over our bodies thou hast authority, over our spirits **15** thou hast not authority!"

And the Governor commanded to hang them each **35** by one foot, with their head downwards. And they had put an iron fetter on the right foot of Shmona and had bent his knee † like a camel's, and they had inserted **20** an iron buckle under his knee-joint above the fetter, and lifted and hanged Shmona by the leg on which was put the fetter, with his head downwards. But as for Guria, because they had seen that his strength was little and he was weak in body and useless, they did **25** not hang him at that time. And Shmona remained hanging by his one leg from the second hour to the fifth hour. And the Roman soldiers were saying to him, **36** those who were guarding him and standing by: "Wret-

5 all the month (= A G¹ G²) J *pr.* without eating or drinking: see *Introd.*, p. 17.

19 his knee (= A G¹ G²) J † and his head

20 buckle] J sapphire (*sic!*): see *Notes*, p. 166.

ched man, how long wilt thou endure thus these grievous and bitter afflictions? Do the will of the Emperors, and they will give thee refreshment from these pains thou art hanging in”.

But †he† had not spared †his† own body, and he 5 did not promise them, no, not one word by the lips.

37 Now Shmona, while he was hanging head downwards, was praying and saying: “Thou art the Adorable, God, Father of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, without whom no sparrow falls into a snare; Thou art He that gavest 10 the strength in Abraham Thy friend to endure his temptations, and in Joseph the victorious and so he was delivered from his mistress, and in Moses to endure the stings of the rabid people, and in Jephthah who had killed his only daughter, and in David whom King Saul 15 had persecuted, and in Daniel and in the youths with Ananias in the midst of Babylon, and in Simon Kephas and in Paul the Apostle and in Stephen the Martyr and in all the Confessors who had given their bodies for killing in confession, and conquered the Enemy who 20 was fighting with them and had gone forth in good
38 martyrdom from this world; Thou, my Lord and my God, give in me strength to endure the afflictions because of they holy Name; and Thou knowest how much the enemy has afflicted me in pain of this body that I 25 may promise and give my mouth and he may cast me down, so that I may depart from the truth of my belief in Thee, and my torch be quenched that is alight with the oil of Thy Messiah, Jesus Thy Son adorable and holy”.

30

5 he his own body (= A G¹ G²) J the Governor their own bodies

9 Cf. Matt X 29.

Now these words, that Shmona the brave and victo- 39
rious Martyr was saying, the Notary had written them
down at the command of the Governor, standing beside
him while he was hanging, lest perchance from his
5 bitter affliction he might promise to sacrifice. And when 40
he saw him not promising and that to turn from his
position was not set in his mind, the Governor com-
manded the jailor to take Shmona down from where
he was hanging, and to carry them off and imprison
10 them in that Dark Hole where they came from. And
the jailor had come near and taken down Shmona from
where he was hanging, and indeed soldiers had had to
carry him, because he was not able to walk. And they
had taken Guria with him, and they went and impri-
15 soned them in that Dark Hole according to the com-
mand of the Governor.

On the 15th day of November, in the night that 41
dawns into the third day of the week, when the cock
had crowed twice, the Governor had risen and gone
20 down to his Court of Justice, and with him was all his
corps of officials, and there were torches and flambeaux
lighted before him.

And when he had sat down on his tribunal in the
Basilica by the Winter Baths, at the same time he had
25 sent eight soldiers with the jailor for Guria and Shmona;
and he brought them both up from that Hole. And
they were carrying Shmona, carrying him, because he
was not able to walk on his right foot, on which that
iron buckle had been fastened and it had sprained his
30 knee-joint; but Guria, though he was walking on his

17 in the night that dawns] see Lk XXIII 54 and Notes, p. 167f.

feet, two soldiers were holding him, one on his right and one on his left, first on account of the afflictions of his imprisonment and secondly because of his age. And they brought them in and set them both before the Judge. 5

42 And the Governor answered and said to them: "Have ye taken counsel to do the will of the Emperors, and so live and see this sun and depart and go to your homes, as before I said to you, and see your families and your relations and your property? Or is it chosen 10 by you and preferred by you to die? Because thus have the Emperors commanded me: — 'He who will not do our will, and do obeisance to the Sun, our Lord, this sun he shall not see'".

43 Shmona answered and said: "Thou knowest that all 15 men are the sons of Adam and are formed from the earth, and there is decreed for them by the Lord of the Sun the death of nature: how then can men be called Lords of the Sun, or the Sun be called Lord, which is a thing made like them and grows dark and 20 fades at the end like them? For it is the authority of our God that reigns over it both that it should rise from the East and set in the West. So long time then as hath been given us by our Creator and the Creator of this very sun we have walked in this world and have 25 seen the light thereof; and to-day that we are doing the will of our God, this time as long as we have seen it is enough for us. For lo, even were it not so, by a natural death away from this life we should depart, as nature testifies by observation of it". 30

44 The Governor said: "Enough of the many things ye have said and I have said to you. And now in few

words I say to you — will ye be persuaded to cast incense and pour a libation of wine on the burnt-offering placed before this Zeus, and will ye go to your homes in peace? or shall I command concerning you
5 that ye go forth and die by the sword, as I am commanded by the Emperors?”

Shmona answered and said to him: “If so be that
45 thou do this that thou hast said, that we go forth and die by the sword, and thou transfer us from this life, a
10 blessed reward from God thou wilt receive if thou do this for us, as we have begged of thee from the beginning”.

The Governor said to him: “This is nothing, Gaffer!
46 But do the will of the Emperors and ye shall not die
15 miserably. For I do not wish you to die at my hands! And therefore I have given you all this extension and have heard every thing that ye have spoken before me, that this which, lo, ye ask from me may not be seen by you”.

20 Shmona answered and said to him: “We are dying
47 for the name of Jesus our Saviour, so that we may be delivered from the second death which lasts for ever, and that we may become worthy of the life that reigns for ever and ever, in the light of the kingdom and in
25 glory that doth not pass away”.

“For we are not better than the righteous men of old; not better than Simon, who was crucified head downwards; nor than Paul, whose head was taken off by the sword in Rome; nor than Stephen, whom the
30 Jews stoned with stones; nor than James the son of Zebedee, whom King Agrippa killed: nor than James the brother of our Lord, whom the Jews killed with a

fuller's club, nor than John the Baptist, whom divorced Herodias killed, nor than the rest of those many persons who have given their bodies to scourgings and to insult and to killing in confession, on account of the adorable and holy name of Jesus the Messiah". 5

48 The Governor said: "Not that ye should repeat before me the names of your fellow-believers am I silent and quiet, but that ye may sacrifice according to the command of the Emperors, and save yourselves from the death of the sword which, lo, ye look for, from the 10 day that ye first came before me even till now".

49 Guria answered and said to him: "We are of less account and more miserable than all men, especially to be accounted to be the associates of those righteous men and to be compared with them. But for us there 15 is encouragement in that which our Teacher said, 'He that loses his life for my sake will find it'; and it is true for us, that we shall be requited for our persecutions".

50 The Governor said: "See that I have not yet been 20 in a hurry to command for you death by the sword, and from the afflictions and tortures that it is commanded me to pronounce upon you by the Emperors I have refrained until now; and now beware that I do not command them for you, and from your afflictions ye 25 promise that ye will do the will of the Emperors, and I have no mercy further upon you, as now".

51 Shmona and Guria answered and say to him: "If it had not been set in our intention and in our mind to endure these tortures and combings that thou torturest 30 us with, not thus would we have been returning answer to thee. Because more bitter is the judgement that is

about to come on every one that denies God than this, with which, lo, thou art terrifying us now. Lo, therefore, we stand before thee: do whatever is commanded thee about us by the Emperors, as Christians, worshippers
5 of the Messiah whose judgement there is not one of the Emperors will escape from”.

Then, when they had seen the Judge was persuaded **52** to give against them the sentence of death, they rejoiced greatly and were glad, and both of them had given
10 glory (to God) saying: “Glory to Him who hath deemed us worthy of this, for whose sake we have endured according to our strength everything that has come upon us, for the name of Jesus the Messiah”.

And when the Governor had seen their joy in front **53**
15 of the sword he was marvelling greatly that not even with a word had they promised him anything for a moment, and he beat one hand on the other and was silent and still, thinking what he should do to them. And afterwards he answered and said to them: “Ye **54**
20 know that many times I have had patience with you, that this should not be to you which now, lo, I command concerning you, that ye go forth and die by the sword, even as ye have begged of me”. And he had **55**
25 commanded the executioner to take with him ten soldiers and go forth and take them outside of the city far away, because of the city-folk, that there should not be any grief on their account for any one in the city. And when the executioner had received the command **56**
of the Governor <and> had taken with him ten soldiers
30 and gone taking them, he went forth by night hurriedly by the Western Gate of the city; and lo, a cart had happened to be going forth and he had made them

both sit in the cart, before the city-folk were awake. And he carried them off to a hill on the north of Edessa, to a certain knoll called Beth Alah Kīḳla, which is to the south-west of the fountain of water that goes into the city. 5

57 And when they had arrived there, he made them both get down from the cart that they were sitting in; and they were glad and rejoicing that the moment of their crowning had arrived.

58 And they both begged of that executioner that he would leave them for a moment, so that they might
59 both pray. And that executioner was saying to them: "I beg of you, pray even for me, who am sinning against
59a you and dying before God". And they had prayed both of them together, but the executioner and the Roman
15 soldiers were standing behind the holy ones, and were praying and begging themselves also for mercy.

60 And when they both had prayed, they had persuaded those who were taking them and were saying to them: "Because it is night, and our brethren and our kinsfolk
20 are not near at this moment, do not let it be a trouble to you to bury our bodies, even to cover our bodies as is the custom in the world". It was a grief to them and they were sad that there was no one by them of their brothers and sons in our Lord to lay out their
25 corpses and bury them; and they were rejoicing much just as if in that very hour they were meeting the
61 Messiah face to face. And they prayed, and said both of them with one voice: "Father of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, receive our spirits unto Thyself in peace, and
30

3 Kīḳla (= א 61) J Kūla: see *Habbib* § 38 and the Note on the Place of the Martyrdoms, p. 41 f.

do Thou gather our bodies unto the day of Resurrection and cover them!"

And Shmona had turned and looked to the East, **62**
 kneeling on his knees, and he said to that executioner:
 5 "Come near and do what is commanded thee concerning me!" And he came near and smote him with one **63**
 blow of the sword and did not repeat it again.

And then Guria his companion kneeled by his side, **64**
 and looked to the East and stretched out his neck, and
 10 he smote him also with one blow of the sword and did
 not repeat it again.

And the soldiers laid their bodies near one by the **65**
 other, and they left them both and had gone into the city.

And as they were coming in, large crowds met the **66**
 15 soldiers, because day had dawned and they had gone
 forth to seek where they had carried off the holy ones,
 and they were asking the soldiers "where have ye carried
 off the Confessors?" They say to them "Beth Alah
 Kikla". And much folk it was that had gone forth to **67**
 20 the search for the holy martyrs. Now there was with
 that first crowd that had gone forth the daughter of
 Shmona the Confessor; and folk from all the city had
 gone forth, men and women, and they had laid out
 their bodies and had gathered the dust on which their
 25 blood was bespattered. And many of them had brought
 fine garments and many cloths and perfumes and spices
 and much balm, and as is the custom those crowds had
 gathered together the bodies of the holy ones and wrapped
 them in clean cloths and in those garments and with
 30 the balm and with the spices and with grave-bands,

and they laid them in one Coffin in one grave which was there, saying over them psalms and anthems and hymns and litanies, and they were glorifying our Lord for the constancy and the endurance of those holy martyrs, in that however many afflictions and torments 5 had passed over them when persecuted, yet from the truth of their belief they did not depart. Because when they were hearing about other martyrs who were crowned in various places they were calling them happy that they had become worthy to be martyrs for the Messiah; 10 and that what they hoped for and were thirsting for much was given to them through the mercy of our Lord, who did not withhold from them this which was done and enacted in the days of Konna, Bishop of Arak City, as is written above, and in the days of Hymenaeus, 15

68 Bishop of Jerusalem, and in the days of Gaius, Bishop of Rome, and in the days of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, and in the days of Tyrannus, Bishop of Antioch, with many others, not to multiply speech. Now some of these things were done here in the land of Mesopo- 20 tamia, and some of them in Cilicia and in Galatia and in Syria and in Phoenicia and in Palestine and in Egypt, with many other lands, both in the Roman dominions and on all sides.

69 And when I beg of you, my brethren, who are af- 25 fected by the suffering of this persecution in the pulling down of the churches of the Messiah and in the afflic-

1 Coffin] the Syriac is *Gluskma*: see Notes, p. 169.

8 they] i.e. the crowd of Edessene Christians.

14—15 Arak City] J (*mg.*) "i.e. Urhai": see Notes, p. 169.

15 Hymenaeus, &c.] The list of Bishops is in G² as well as J: see Notes, p. 170.

18 Antioch] everything after this word is found only in J.

tions of the worshippers of our Lord, that ye pray for Theophilus who took pains and inquired and wrote a copy of these Memoirs, the things which with my eyes I saw while they were being enacted in deed on Shmona
 5 and on Guria, the holy martyrs, who renounced the evil inheritance of the paganism of their fathers; — and these same things will be a remembrance for all our brethren and for a good reminder of the glories that are coming after us.

10 And I have written these things in the month of November, on the 20th, on a Sunday, five days after the crowning of these holy Martyrs, whose murderers even were calling them happy, and in perpetrating their deaths were cherishing and honouring them secretly,
 15 while afraid of the imperial authority.

But may the Messiah make salvation for His people 70 through His great mercy and cause peace to reign in His holy Church, that we may no more see or hear of churches pulled down †, or priests killed and deacons
 20 slaughtered, † or chaste women exposed and Daughters of the Covenant despised, or believers persecuted and women carried away captive, and Sons of the Covenant made night-watchers in the lanes of the cities, or
 25 sharpened swords piercing the necks of true believers, or the bodies of precious men eaten by evil beasts, or fire flaming on the bodies of men who love the Messiah, or saints cast into the sea to be food for fishes, or believers with the skin of their heads flayed for not having

12 Martyrs] J + year 618 of the Greeks: see Introd., pp. 17, 29.

19 pulled down] J + monasteries ruined or altars destroyed

20 slaughtered] J + or monks insulted: see Notes, p. 171.

bowed their heads before sculptured stones, or believers persecuted even unto exile; but may it be accomplished for us in this time of persecution that "Weeping shall endure for the night, but joy cometh in the morning", through the prayers of those victorious Martyrs and 5 true and brave Confessors Shmona and Guria †. Mercy be on every one that joins in the day of their commemoration, for ever and ever. Amen.

Here endeth the story of Shmona and Guria. And the writer begs from those of a loving disposition a prayer for forgiveness for the faults which have chanced in the writing; and he that shall forgive shall be forgiven: yea, and amen!

3, 4 Psalm XXX (XXIX) 6.

6 Guria] J † and Ḥabbib, and of all the Saints their friends and companions, the thousands, yea, myriads that were killed in their days, and with the prayers of Mary and of all Saints.

MARTYRDOM OF HABBIB THE
DEACON.

II. MARTYRDOM OF ḤABBIB THE DEACON.

1 In the month of August, of the year 620 of the kingdom of Alexander of Macedon, [in the consulate of Licinius and Constantine, which is the year in which he was born], in the magistracy of Julius and of Baraḵ, 5 in the days of Ḳonna, Bishop of Edessa, [Licinius] ¹⁾ had made a persecution against the church and all the people of the Christians, after that first persecution which the Emperor Diocletian had made. And the Emperor [Licinius] commanded that there should be 10 sacrifices and libations, and that altars be repaired in every place, that perfumes and frankincense they should burn before Zeus. And when many were being persecuted they cried out of their own free will, “We are Christians”, and they were not afraid of the persecution, 15 because those who were persecuted were more numerous 2 than those who were persecuting. Now Ḥabbib, who was of the village Tel-ṣhē ²⁾, and had been made a deacon, was both going about to the churches in the villages secretly and ministering and reading the scrip- 20 tures, and was encouraging and strengthening many by

1) On the mention of Licinius here and in §§ 3—5, see Introd. pp. 31, 32. On Ḳonna, see Notes, p. 163 f.

2) Tel-ṣhē, in Greek Θελασεή, means *Drymount*. It is mentioned in Wright *CBM* 648.

his word, and admonishing them to stand fast in the truth of their belief, and not to be afraid of the persecutors, and he was commanding them ¹). And while many were confirmed by his words, and received what
 5 he said affectionately, being cautioned not to renounce that state ²) in which they stood, and when the city **3**
 Informers ³) had heard, men who had been appointed for this same purpose, they went in and made known to Ausonius ⁴), the Governor that was in the citadel of
 10 Edessa, and say to him, "Habbib, who is a deacon in the village Tel-ṣhē, goeth about and ministers secretly in every place, and he withstandeth the Emperor's command and is not afraid". And when the Governor had **4**
 heard these things, he was filled with rage against Habbib;
 15 and he made a Report, and sent and made known to [Licinius] the Emperor all that Habbib had done, both that he might learn and see what command would be given respecting him and those who would not sacrifice; for although a command had been issued that every
 20 man should sacrifice, yet it had not been ordered what was to be done to those who would not sacrifice; because they had heard that Constantine, <who was Emperor in> Italy ⁵), in Gaul, and in Spain, was a Christian and did not sacrifice. And [Licinius] the Emperor gave **5**
 25 orders to Ausonius ³) the Governor, that "whosoever thus has dared to transgress our command, our Majesty has commanded that he should perish by fire: and that others who do not comply and sacrifice, should perish by the sword".

1) See Notes, p. 172.

2) See Notes, p. 172.

3) See Notes. p. 173f.

4) See Notes, p. 175.

5) See Notes, p. 176.

- 6 Now when this command had come to the citadel of Edessa, Ḥabbib, the same on whose account the Report had been made, was gone over to the country of the Zeugmatites, in order that he might minister there also secretly. And when the Governor had sent and inquired ⁵ for him in his village, and in all the country round, and he could not be found, he had commanded that all his family should be arrested, and the inhabitants of his village, and they had arrested them and put them into irons, his mother and the rest of his family, and ¹⁰ also some of the people of his village; and they brought ⁷ them to the city, and bound them in prison. And when Ḥabbib had heard of this which had taken place, he considered in his mind, and meditated in his thoughts, “It is expedient for me that I go and appear before the ¹⁵ Judge of the country ¹⁾, rather than that I should remain in secret, and others enter and be crowned on my account, and I find myself in great disgrace. For how will the name of Christian help him who fleeth from the confession of Christianity? Lo, if he flee from this, the ²⁰ death of nature is before him whithersoever he goeth, and he is not able to escape from it, because this is decreed against all the children of Adam”.
- 8 And Ḥabbib arose and went to Edessa secretly, having prepared his back for the stripes, and his sides for the ²⁵ tearing of the combs, and his body for the burning of fire. And he went into the courtyard ²⁾ to Theotecna, a veteran, who was the chief of the Governor’s guard, and said to him, “I am Ḥabbib of Tel-ṣhē, whom ye are ⁹ seeking”. And Theotecna said to him, “If it be that no ³⁰

1) See Notes, p. 164 (on *S. & G.* § 3).

2) See Notes, p. 176.

man saw thee when thou camest to me, obey me who am speaking to thee, and depart and go whither thou wast before, and be there at this time, and this that thou didst come to me and speak with me, and
5 that I advised thee thus, let no man know or be aware of; and about thy family and the inhabitants of thy village do not be anxious at all, for no man will hurt them at all, but they will remain a few days in the prison, and the Governor will then dismiss them, be-
10 cause the Emperors have not commanded any thing bad or dreadful concerning them: but if thou wilt not be persuaded by me in these things which I have said to thee, I am free of thy blood, because if it be that thou appear before the Judge of the country, thou wilt
15 not escape from death by fire, according to the command of the Emperors, which they have given concerning thee”.

Habbib says to Theotecna, “As for me, it is not
10 about my family and the inhabitants of my village that I am anxious, but about my own life, lest it should
20 perish. Also I am much grieved about this, that I did not happen to be in my village on the day that the Governor inquired for me, and on my account, lo, many are thrown into irons, and I have been regarded by
25 him as a fugitive. Wherefore, if so be thou wilt not be persuaded by me and take me in before the Governor, I by myself will go and make my appearance before him”. And when Theotecna had heard him speak thus
11 to him, he arrested him swiftly, and delivered him up
30 to his domestics, and they brought him with him to the Governor’s Court of Justice. And Theotecna had gone in and made it known to the Governor, and had

said to him: "Ḥabbib from Tel-ṣhē has come, whom thy lordship was searching after". And the Governor had said: "Who is it that has brought him? And where did they find him? And what was he doing where he was?" Theotecna says to him: "He of his own free will 5 has come hither without the constraint of any one, for no one was aware of him".

12 And when the Governor had heard this, he was embittered against him much, and thus had he said: "This fellow, who has thus acted, has indeed shewn contempt 10 towards me and has despised me, and has accounted me as no Judge; even because he has thus acted, it is not right that any mercy be shewn towards him, neither that I should be in a hurry to pass sentence of death against him according to the command issued against 15 him by the Emperors; but it is right for me to have patience with him, in order that his tortures and bitter sentence may be more increased, and through him I may terrify many from ever daring to flee".

13 And when many people were gathered together and 20 standing by him at the door of the judgement hall, some of them being his own Officials and others being the people of the city, there were some of them that were saying: "Thou hast done badly in coming and shewing thyself to those who where searching for thee, without 25 the constraint of the Judge"; and there were those again who were saying to him: "Thou hast done well in coming and shewing thyself of thine own free will, rather than that the constraint of the Judge should bring thee; for now is thy confession of the Messiah known to be by 30 thine own will, and not by the constraint of men".

13a But the things, which the city Informers had heard

from those who were saying (this) to him, while they were standing at the door of the judgement hall, and also the fact that he had gone secretly to Theotecna, and he had not wished to denounce him, had been heard
 5 by the city Informers ¹⁾, and they made known to the Judge every thing that they had heard. And the Judge was angry against those who had been saying to Ḥabbib, “Wherefore didst thou come and shew thyself to the Judge, without constraint from the Judge himself?” And
 10 to Theotecna he had said: “It was not right for a man, who has been made the chief of his comrades, thus to act deceitfully towards his own ruler, and frustrate the Emperors’ command, which they issued against Ḥabbib the rebel, that he should be burned with fire”. Theo-
 15 tecna says: “Towards my comrades I have not acted deceitfully, neither to frustrate the edict which the Emperors issue have I looked; for what am I before thy lordship, that I should dare to do it? But I strictly questioned him as to that which thy lordship also has
 20 inquired at my hands, in order that I might know and see whether it was of his own free will that he came hither, or whether the constraint of thy lordship had not brought him by the hand of others; and when I had heard from him that he had come of his own will,
 25 I carefully brought him to the honourable door of the Court of Justice of thy rectitude”.

And the Governor gave orders instantly, and they ¹⁴ brought in Ḥabbib before him. The guard says: “Lo, he standeth before thy lordship” ²⁾. And he began to

1) See above, § 3, and Notes, p. 175 f.

2) See *ASD* 65₁₈ (Barsamya).

interrogate him thus, and said to him: "What is thy name? and whence art thou? and what art thou?" He says to him: "Ḥabbib is my name, and I am from the
15 village Tel-ṣhē, and I have been made a deacon". The Governor says: "Wherefore hast thou transgressed the 5 command of the Emperors, and dost minister in thine office, which is forbidden to thee by the Emperors, and art not willing to sacrifice to Zeus, whom the Emperors worship?" Ḥabbib says: "We Christians do not worship the works of men, which are not anything themselves, 10 neither are their makers anything; but we worship God
16 who made men". The Governor says: "Stand not with that audacious mind with which thou art come before me, insulting Zeus the great glory of the Emperors". Ḥabbib says: "If this Zeus is not an idol, the work of 15 men, thou hast said well that I insult him; but if the carving of him out of wood and fixing of him with nails cry out against him that he is a thing made, how sayest thou to me that I insult him, for lo, his insult is from
17 himself and against himself!" The Governor says: "By 20 this very thing that thou art not willing to worship him, thou insultest him". Ḥabbib says: "And if because I do not worship him I insult him, how great an insult then has the carpenter inflicted on him, who carved him out with an axe of iron, and the smith, who struck 25
18 him and fixed him up with nails!" And when the Governor had heard that he spake thus, he had commanded him to be scourged unsparingly. And when he had been scourged of five, he said to him: "Wilt thou now obey the Emperors? And if thou wilt not obey, I 30 will indeed tear thee with combs, and with all kinds of torture I will torture thee, and then at last I will

give orders against thee, that thou be burnt with fire”.

Ḥabbib says: “These threats, which, lo, thou art now frightening me with, are much less and smaller than those which I had already made up my mind to endure; 5 therefore I came and made my appearance before thee”.

The Governor says: “Put him in the iron fether ¹⁾ for 18a murderers, and let him be scourged as he deserves: and when he was being scourged they say to him: “Sacrifice to the gods!” and he was crying aloud and saying: 10 “Anathema are your idols, and they who worship them with you are like you!” And the Governor gave orders, and they took him up to the prison, they did not give him permission to speak with his own family and the inhabitants of his village, according to the command of 15 the judge. Now the day was the Emperors’ festival ²⁾).

But on the second of September the Governor had 19 given orders, and they had brought him from the prison, and had said to him: “Wilt thou renounce that in which thou standest, and obey the edict of our Lords the 20 Emperors? But if thou wilt not obey, I will make thee obey them by bitter tearings of combs”. Ḥabbib says: “I have not obeyed them, nor is it set in my mind to obey them, not even if thou sentence me to sentences worse even than those which the Emperors have decreed.” 25 The Governor says: “By the Gods I swear, that unless 19a thou wilt sacrifice, I will not omit anything hard and bitter that I will not torture thee with: and we shall see if the Messiah, whom thou worshipped, will deliver thee”. Ḥabbib says: “All those who worship the Messiah 30 are those who are delivered by the Messiah, that they

1) See *S. & G.* §§ 19, 35, and Notes, p. 166.

2) See p. 33 and Notes, p. 176.

should not worship creatures together with the Creator
19b of the creatures". The Governor says: "Let him be stretched out and be beaten with whips, until there remain not a place in his body, on which he has not been beaten". Habbib says: "These afflictions, which ⁵ thou hast supposed to be bitter in their stripes, of them are platted crowns of victory for those who endure
19c them". The Governor says: "How can ye call afflictions recreation, and account the torments of your bodies a crown of victory?" Habbib says: "It is not for thee to ¹⁰ ask me about these things, because thine unbelief does not deserve to hear the arguments for these things. That
19d I will not sacrifice, I have said and I say". The Governor says: "Thou, because thou deservest them, art standing in these sentences. I will put out those eyes of thine, ¹⁵ which look upon this Zeus and are not afraid of him; and I will stop thine ears, which hear the laws of the Emperors and are not terrified". Habbib says: "God, whom thou deniest here, hath another world, and there thou wilt confess Him with stripes, although thou mayest ²⁰
19e further deny Him". The Governor says: "Let that world alone about which thou hast spoken, and attend now to this trial in which, lo, thou standest, for there is no one who is able to deliver thee from it, unless the Gods deliver thee if thou sacrifice to them". Habbib says: ²⁵ "Those who die for the name of the Messiah, and worship not things made and creatures, will find their lives in the presence of God: and those who love the life of this present time more than that, their torment is for ever".

30

20 And the Governor gave order, and they hanged him up and tare him with the combs, and as they were

tearing him with the combs they dragged him about: and he was hanging a long while, until the shoulder-blades of his arms creaked ¹⁾. The Governor says to **21** him: "Wilt thou be persuaded even now to put in-
5 cense before this Zeus?" Habbib says: "Before these sufferings I was not persuaded by thee; now that, lo, I have suffered them, how thinkest thou that I should be persuaded by thee, to lose by them that which I have gained by them?" The Governor says: "By sen-**22**
10 tences fiercer and bitterer than these I am prepared to make thee obey, according to the Emperor's command, until thou do their will". Habbib says: "Thou art sentencing me for not having obeyed the command of the Emperors, who lo, thyself also, whom the Emperors
15 have raised and made a judge, hast transgressed their command, in that thou hast not done to me, what the Emperors commanded thee". The Governor says: "Be-**23**
 cause I have had patience with thee dost thou say thus, like a man bringing an accusation?" Habbib says: "If
20 thou hadst not scourged me and bound me, and torn me with combs and put my feet into the stocks, it might have been supposed that thou hadst had patience with me: but if these things have intervened, where is the patience towards me of which thou hast said?" The **24**
25 Governor says: "These things which thou hast said will not help thee, because they are all of them against thee, and they will bring upon thee afflictions which are bitterer even than those which the Emperors have commanded". Habbib says: "If I had not been aware that
30 they will help me, I should not have spoken at all

1) See Notes, p. 177.

- 24a about them before thee". The Governor says: "I will silence these words of thine, and at the same time appease the Gods about thee for thy not having worshipped them, and I will quiet the Emperors' mind about thee, because thou hast rebelled against their 5 commands". Habbib says: "I am not afraid of the death which thou threatenest me with, for had I been afraid of it, I should not have gone about from house to house, and ministered: for its sake it was that I did so minister".
- 25 The Governor says: "How is it that thou worshippest 10 and adorest a man, and this Zeus thou art not willing to worship and honour?" Habbib says: "A man I worship not, because it is written for me, 'Cursed is every one that putteth his trust in man'; but God, who took 26 a body and became man, I worship and glorify". The 15 Governor says: "Do thou what the Emperors have commanded, and what is in thy mind is thine: if thou be willing to let it go, well and good, and if thou be not willing, then do not leave it". Habbib says: "Both these things cannot be, because falsehood is contrary to truth, nor 20 is it possible for that thought to be taken away which 27 is firmly fixed in my mind". The Governor says: "By bitterer and harder tortures, I will make thee put away from thy thoughts, that of which thou saidst, 'It is firmly fixed in my mind'". Habbib says: "These afflic- 25 tions about which thou supposest that by them it will be rooted up from my thoughts, it is by them it groweth in the midst of my thoughts like a tree bearing fruit".
- 28 The Governor says: "What help can stripes and tearing of combs give to this tree of thine? and more especially 30 at the time that I order fire against it, to burn it unsparingly". Habbib says: "Not at those things which

thou lookest at do I look, because I contemplate the things which are not seen, and on this account I do the will of God who makes, and not that of an idol that is made, which cannot even feel any thing". The Governor 29
 5 says: "Because he thus denies the gods whom the Emperors worship, let more tearing of combs be added to his former combings; for in the many questions which I have had the patience with him to ask him, he has forgotten his former tearings of combs". And while they
 10 were tearing him he was crying aloud and saying: "The sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which is to be revealed in those that love the Messiah" 1).

And when the Governor saw that not even under 30
 15 these afflictions he would sacrifice, he said to him: "So your doctrine teaches you that you should hate your own bodies?" "Ḥabbib says: "Our bodies we do not hate; it is indeed written for us: 'Whosoever will lose his life shall find it'; but another thing also is written for us,
 20 'that we should not give that which is holy to dogs, and that we should not cast pearls before swine'". The 31
 Governor says: "I know that all thou sayest thus is in order that my rage and the anger of my mind may be excited, and that I should give sentence of
 25 death against thee speedily. I will not therefore be hurried on to that which thou desirest, but I will have patience; not, indeed, for thy ease, but in order that the affliction of thy tortures may be increased, and that thou mayest see thy flesh falling off before thee by the
 30 combs which are passing over thy sides". Ḥabbib says:

1) Rom. VIII 18.

- “I also am looking to this, that thou shouldest multiply
32 thy tortures upon me as thou hast said”. The Governor
 says: “Comply with the Emperors, who have authority
 to do whatsoever they will”. Ḥabbib says: “There are
 no men who do whatsoever they will, but only God, ⁵
 whose authority is over heaven and over all the inha-
 bitants of the earth; nor is there any one that can
 blame His actions and say to Him ‘What doest thou?’”
- 33** The Governor says: “For this insolence of thine death
 by the sword is too little; but I am prepared to decree ¹⁰
 against thee a death bitterer than that of the sword”.
 Ḥabbib says: But I look for a death more lingering
 than that of the sword, which thou wilt decree against
 me at the time that thou wishest”.
- 34** And afterwards the Governor began to give the sen- ¹⁵
 tence of death against him; and he called out aloud
 before his corps of officials, and says, the nobles of the
 city also hearing him: “Ḥabbib, this fellow who has
 denied the Gods, as ye also have heard from him, and
 has likewise insulted the Emperors, it is right that his ²⁰
 life also should be wiped out from under this honoured
 sun, and that he should not see this light, the associate
 of the Gods; and were it not that it has been com-
 manded by former Emperors that the corpses of mur-
 derers should be buried, it would be right that the ²⁵
 corpse of this fellow should not even be buried, because
 he has been so insolent. I command that a strap be
 cast into his mouth as into the mouth of a murderer,
 and that he be burned by a slow lingering fire, that
 the torture of his death may be increased”.
- 35** And he went out from the presence of the Governor
 with the strap thrust into his mouth, and a multitude 30

of the people of the city was running after him. Now the Christians were rejoicing that he had not turned aside nor abandoned his state of life, and the Pagans were threatening him because he would not sacrifice. And
 5 they took him out by the Western Gate, (the Gate) of the Arches ¹⁾, over against the cemetery which was built by 'Abshelama, Abgar's son. Now his mother was clad in white, and she was going out with him.

And when he had arrived at the place where they **36**
 10 were going to burn him, he stood up and prayed, and all those that were going out with him, and he said: "King Messiah, thou to whom belongs this world and the world to come, look and see, that though I was able to flee from these afflictions, I did not flee, that I might not
 15 fall into the hands of thy justice: let this fire, in which I am to be burned, be to me for a recompense before thee, so that I may be delivered from that fire which is not quenched, and receive my spirit in thy presence into the spirit of thy Godhead, glorious Son of
 20 the adorable Father!" And when he had prayed, he turned and blessed them, and they gave him the salutation as they wept, men and women, and they say to him: "Pray for us in the presence of thy Lord, that he would make His peace for His people, and renewal for
 25 His churches which are cast down".

And while Habbib was standing they dug a place, **36a**
 and took him and set him in the midst of it, and they fixed up by him a stake. And they came to bind him to the stake, and he said to them: "I will not stir from
 30 this place in which ye are going to burn me". And **37**

1) See Notes, p. 178.

they brought faggots and set them in order, and placed them on all sides of him: and when the fire burnt up and its flames ascended fiercely they called out to him, 38 "Open thy mouth!" And the moment he opened his mouth his soul had mounted up ¹⁾; and they exclaimed, ⁵ both men and women, with the voice of weeping. And they drew him and took him up out of the fire, and they threw over him fine linen and choice unguents and spices, and they seized upon some of the faggots for burning him, and they carried him, both brethren and ¹⁰ men of the world ²⁾, and wrapped him up and buried him by Guria and Shmona the martyrs, in the same grave in which they were placed, on the hill which is called Beth Alah Kikla, saying over him psalms and hymns 38a and carrying his burnt body in procession affectionately ¹⁵ and honourably ³⁾. And even some Jews and Pagans took part in shrouding and burying his body with the Christian brethren. Now at the time of his burning, and also at the time when they buried him, there was one spectacle of grief spread over those within and those ²⁰ without, and tears were running down from all eyes, while every one was giving glory to God, for whose Name he had given his body to the burning of fire.

39 Now the day on which he was burned was †Saturday †⁴⁾, the second of September, on the day that it was heard ²⁵ that Constantine the Great had begun to depart from the interior of Spain, in order to proceed to Rome, the

1) Compare Matt. XXVII 50 in syr.S.

2) For the use of this term, see p. 23.

3) See Notes, p. 179.

4) Saturday] (G¹: the Syriac MS has 'Friday'. Reasons for following G¹ here rather than the Syriac are given on p. 30.

city of Italy, that he might carry on the war with Licinius, who at this day has the dominion over the Eastern parts of the Roman dominions; and, lo, the countries are in commotion on all sides, because no man
 5 knoweth which of them will be victorious and continue in the power of the empire. And at this news the per- 39a
 secution relaxed a little from the churches. Now the Notaries wrote down every thing that they had heard from the Judge: and the city Informers wrote the rest
 10 of the things which were said outside the door of the judgement hall, and as was the custom they made known to the Judge all that they heard and saw, and their sentences are recorded in their Acts.

I, Theophilus, who had renounced the evil inheritance 40
 15 of my fathers, and confessed the Messiah, gave diligence and wrote a copy of these Acts of Ḥabbib, as I had formerly written of Guria and of Shmona, his fellow-martyrs¹); and inasmuch as he had called them happy in their death by the sword, he resembled them himself
 20 also in his being crowned by the burning of fire. And that I have written the year, and the month, and the day of the crowning of these Martyrs, is not for the sake of those who like me saw the deed, but so that they who come after us might learn what was the time
 25 of these Martyrs, and which are commemorated also in the Acts of the former Martyrs, who (lived) in the days of the Emperor Domitianus²), and of the rest of the Emperors who also had made a persecution against the church, and likewise had killed many with stripes and

1) What follows has no equivalent in C¹ or C².

2) Domitianus] N, perhaps for 'Diocletianus': see Notes, p. 179.

with combings and with bitter afflictions, and with keen-edged swords, and with burning fire, and in the terrible sea, and in the merciless mines — and all these things and things like them, for the hope of the future reward. 5

Now the afflictions of these Martyrs, and of those whom I had heard of, opened the eyes of me, Theophilus, and enlightened my mind, and I confessed the Messiah, that he is the Son of God, and that he is God. And may the dust of these Martyrs' feet¹⁾, which I re- 10 ceived as I ran after them at the time of their going forth to be crowned, get me pardon for having denied Him, and may He confess me before those who worship Him, who have confessed Him now!

Now with the twenty-seventh question that the Judge 15 asked Ḥabbib he gave against him sentence of death to be burned with fire²⁾.

1) See Notes, p. 179.

2) See Notes, p. 180 f.

HERE ENDETH THE MARTYRDOM OF ḤABBIB
THE DEACON.

THE STORY OF EUPHEMIA.

The Story of the Holy Sophia and of Euphemia her daughter, **1**
who were from the City of Edessa.

To-day it behoves us to sing with the spiritual prophet David "The Lord is nigh unto the broken in heart and the lowly in spirit doth He save", and again "The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon Him in truth, and
5 doth good pleasure for them that fear Him". And the divine Apostle Paul teacheth us, saying "All your anxiety cast upon God, for He careth for you".

A miracle, then, that was performed in the blessed city of Edessa some time ago do we announce before
10 you, O faithful brethren of ours, and sons of Holy **2** Church! A certain man, faithful and true and worthy of good remembrance, and by rank a presbyter of the clergy of the holy church there, at Edessa, who was Paramonarius (i.e. Custodian) in the holy temple of the

Variants of the Paris MS (B. N. Syr. 234) = P.

Title in P: Item, the Story of Euphemia and Sophia her daughter, and of the Miracle that was performed for them by the Confessors Shmona and Guria (*Add. in mg.* and Ḥabbib) — their prayer be with us, Amen!

2 Ps XXXIV **19** **3** Ps CXLV 18f. **5** good pleasure] *see*
Notes, p. 183 **6** Paul] P < **7** I Pet V 7 **8** blessed] P <
9 announce] P repeat **10** brethren of ours, and] P < **11** and
true] P < **12** and by rank] P < **13** there, at] P of
14 temple]. P church

Shrine of the Confessors, — he transmitted to us the story of this miracle that came to pass in his days, as he learned from the mouth of the girl and her mother, after God had wrought deliverance for her and she had returned to her country and the home of her kindred 5 by means of the help and power that dwells and abides at all times where lie the bones of the Holy ones and Confessors: this story, when that excellent old man heard it, he feared to hide and conceal and hold his peace about, and not to transmit to the generations that 10 come after the deliverance of this great miracle, which by the working of the suretyship of those Martyrs and 3 Athletes, the Confessors, he heard and saw. And inas- much as he trusted that with correctness he affirmed and spoke truth, he transmitted this story to us so that 15 it might be possible that we should repeat it. And be- cause the thing is simple and unphilosophical and the understanding of the old man weak, do not let the story of this wonderful thing be despicable in your eyes be- cause of the simplicity of him who wrote it down. 20

4 In the year 707 by the reckoning of the Greeks [= 396 AD.] the Huns had come forth, and they cap-

1 he] P who 3 learned] P *pr.* had 6 power] P *pr.* divine
6—8 dwells Confessors] P is where lie the bones of the Holy
ones, the true Confessors, and broods (there) at all times

8—10 this story about] P and this excellent old man was alar-
med to conceal and hold his peace and hide it

10 generations] P + and to the ages

12—13 Martyrs Confessors] P victorious Athletes and Confessors

13—14 inasmuch as] P because

14—15 with correctness and] P <

18—19 the story thing] P this great miracle

20 simplicity down] P lowliness of the thing

22 Huns P (= *Gk*)] L Persians *in the mg.*, and also in the text, but
on an Erasure: see pp. 52, 74

tured many captives and laid waste the country and they
 came as far as Edessa. And Addai, the Military Governor
 (Stratelates) at that time, did not give permission for
 the *Foederati* to go out against them because of trea-
 5 chery in the midst, and for this cause the armies of
 the Romans came down and lived in Edessa for a time.
 Now a certain Goth of a fierce temper from that army 5
 of the Romans was staying in a house, billeted upon a
 certain believing widow whose name was Sophia, and
 10 she had one virgin orphaned daughter, the only child
 she had. And heedfully and carefully did her mother
 keep her, and as was fitting she was bringing her up in
 all modesty, and was keeping her close in hiding that
 that wicked Goth should not see her. And as for the
 15 girl herself, her name was Euphemia, and in her ap-
 pearance she was very beautiful.

And when the Goth had been a long space of time 6
 with them it fell out that for an instant he saw the girl
 and was greatly inflamed with the desire of her, and
 20 with the love of her his soul was taken captive; and 7
 from then he began with soft and gentle words to
 wheedle the mother of the girl to give him (as he said)

22—1 and they captured country] P into the territory of the Romans, and they laid waste the country and captured many captives

4 *Foederati*] i.e. the Gothic Mercenaries: see *Notes*, p. 184

6 time] P *pr.* long 7 Goth] P man 8 of the Romans] P <

in a house upon] P with 10 one] P an only

orphaned] P < 10—11 the had] P <

11—13 And hiding] P And her mother was heedful of her, and was bringing her up in all modesty, and was keeping her continually in hiding

15—16 and in beautiful] P and she, the girl, was beautiful

17—19 And when desire of her] P Now it chanced that he saw that girl and desired her

20 taken] P + away

21 from then] P < with . . . words] P <

22 girl] P + with words (as he said)] P <

her daughter Euphemia in marriage to be his wife. But her believing mother when she heard it was much agitated and was afraid of him, and did not accept his suit. But that bad man did not cease from vexing her with disturbing words in this wise, and sometimes it 5 was with fury that he met her, and sometimes with 8 words of gentleness and of flattery, and with mighty oaths he was wheedling her, and displaying gold too and shewing it before her, making pretexts in all manner of ways that she should give him her free-born daughter. 10 9 Then she hid her daughter that he should not even see her, saying to him "Man, what have I to do with thee? Why dost thou vex me, that am desolate and a widow, and cannot at all do this". But he was full of cunning in his guile and promised her many things. 15

But she said further to him: "And how can this be, seeing that thou hast, I do not know how many times over, a wife in thine own country and sons?" But the rogue insisted and swore, and ventured on oaths by God, falsely declaring "No wife at all have I taken nor 20 have I got sons". And he brought the gold that he had displayed and put it before her, saying: "Lo, see that I have no wife; for lo, much gold for thy daughter have I displayed and many good things I will do for her".

1 to be his wife] P < 2—3 her believing and] P the believing woman 4 that bad] P the cease] P abstain
 5 with this wise] P < 7 words and of] *om.* P
 9—10 shewing ways] P made pretexts from all sides
 11 Then] P But 12—13 what thee?] P < 13—14 P a widow and desolate 14 at all] P < was] P being
 15 and promised] P when he promised (*sic*) 19—20 and ventured falsely] P < 20 at all] P < 22 Lo, see] P See
 24 displayed] P *pr.* taken and

And again she said to him: "Man, why dost thou vex me? take thyself away from me". And he still made himself firm against her, mingling even oaths with flatteries.

5 And when he had greatly worn her out, and for **10** many days to this intent was vexing her, she was overcome like a weak woman and gave up opposition in her mind, saying "God of the orphans and the widows, come to my help! My God, this business is entrusted **10** to Thee, to whom alone it is revealed!" And it was a greatly vexed question between the mother of the girl and the Goth, she saying: "I cannot bear to let my daughter be separated from me all this distance". But he was swearing by God "I will not remove her from **15** thy side, and by thee we will settle".

And when the woman heard the oaths of the wicked **11** man, she was reconciled to fulfil his will, and then forthwith they made a deed of dowry and she gave her daughter in marriage.

20 And after a time God gave that there should be peace, and the order came that this wicked man should depart to his own country with the rest of the Goths that

1 And again she] P But the woman again 2 vex me] P +
 who am a solitary woman And] P But 2—3 made himself
 firm] P excited himself 3—4 mingling . . . flatteries] P and was
 multiplying oaths 5—6 and for . . . vexing her] P < 7—8 in
 her mind] P < 9 My God] P God this] P the
 10 alone] P < 14 by God] P mighty oaths

14—15 "I . . . settle"] P "If thou givest her to me, we will quickly
 come from our country, I and she, and we will both establish ourselves
 by thee" 16 And when] P Then when 16—17 the oaths . . .
 man] P these mighty oaths 17 she . . . his will] P she gave up
 opposition 17—18 then forthwith] P < 18 a deed] P deeds
 gave] P + him 21 the order] P *pr.* when wicked] P
 audacious 22—3 with the rest . . . And] P <

were with him, and it was arranged that Euphemia also whom he had married he should take with him
 12 where he was departing to. And her mother began to affirm that this should never be, and that her daughter should not go with him, because she was obviously 5 with child.

13 And when she had struggled much and many days had raised a dispute over this, at the last she was overcome, and she could not save her daughter and keep her behind from going with him. 10

And when it was decided about the separation of her only child, she took the liar her son-in-law and her daughter, and brought them up to the martyr-shrine of the holy Confessors Guria and Shmona and Ḥabbib, and they were praying, the mother with that daughter of 15 hers, with lamentable tears.

And when they had sealed their prayer with a tear the mother of the girl drew near and took hold of her by her right hand and set her upon the Coffin of the Confessors themselves, saying to her false son-in-law 20 "Give me for a surety the hidden power that dwells on these Holy Ones! Both thou dost know, and they do, 14 according as thou dost treat her!" But the blessed ones themselves she exhorted, saying: "I beseech you, victorious saints of God, go with her and stand up for her 25 in the country of the stranger, for to God and to you

3 her] P the girl's 4 that this and] P < 7—12 And when only child] P And when she could not save her from him, and was overcome by him 15—16 with hers] P and her daughter 17 sealed tear] P prayed 20 Confessors] P *pr.* holy false] P lying 22 these Holy] P *pr.* the bones of
 22—23 Both treat her] P Both thou and they — thou knowest, as thou dost deal with her (*sic*) 24—25 I God] P <
 26—1 for behalf] P <

I trust on her behalf". And the Goth drew near and laid his hand and took her from the Coffin of the Holy ones, saying "As I deal with her and do unto her, so may God deal with me! Lo, these Holy ones are sureties
5 that I will not grieve her!" And they all prayed, and they went down from thence, but her mother was in bitter sorrow and in constant weeping by night and by day that she was deprived of the care and the sight of her daughter.

10 And when the girl went off with that Goth and they 15 had gone many stages and had arrived at one stage off the city where they were going, then he rose up against her like a destroying wolf and stripped off her rich clothing that she was clothed with, and unloosed from
15 her the gold with which she was festooned, and clothed her in the costume of a slave-girl. Then he revealed to her all the treachery he had practised on her, saying to her "I have a wife and I have married her, lo, this long while. But hold thy peace, and do not reveal be-
20 fore her or before any body else what has passed between us; otherwise an evil death thou wilt die at the hands of her family and tribesmen, for they are well known in our country".

And when the girl heard these things she sighed be- 16
25 fore God and lifted up her voice in her weeping, beating her face and her breast and scattering dust on her head

3 and do unto her] P < 4 sureties] P *pr.* my 5 all] P <
6 from thence] P < 8 deprived of] P separated from 10 And
when] P But when 12 where . . . going] P of the treacherous one
then] P < 13—14 her rich clothing] P the rich clothes
16 costume of a slave-girl (= *Gk*)] *Peorr* c. of slave-girls; L (P*?)
clothes of widowhood: *see* p. 76 18 lo] P < 19 while] P +
for years 22 her] P the woman's 25 her weeping] P < her

and on her face, and thus she was saying to him, the poor lonely thing, to that Goth, as she wept: "Thanks for thy kindness, man, for what thou hast done by me and by my state as a stranger here! Thanks for thy kindness, robber, stealing away freemen by day, that 5 thou hast revealed to me that I am a slave-girl and hast fettered me with the yoke of slavery, and hast not killed me with drawn sword! These are thy promises! This is the covenant of thy oaths! Well, then, I will call to the sureties, that were between me and thee, and that mighty 10 Power which is hidden in the bones of the Martyrs. Well, then, on the sureties that thou gavest me, what time thou stretchedst forth thy audacious hand and tookest me from them, do I cast my hope and on their Lord — beware what thou doest with me!" 15

17 And these things did the defrauded and lonely creature repeat in her prayer, as with lamentations she was weeping and saying: "God of my fathers, arise for me in the country of the stranger and save me and deliver me from the hands of this traitor that has rewarded me 20 evil things for good and hatred for love! To you therefore I call, to the Confessors, my sureties! See the freedom fettered in the yoke of slavery! God, that didst accompany Joseph and wast a companion to him in the land of the Egyptians, turn not away Thine eyes 25

3 by me and] P < 5 by day,] P + Thanks for they kindness
 8 drawn] P *pr.* thy 9—10 to the sureties] P to my sureties
 10 mighty] P < 12—13 what time thou] P and 13 audacious] P
 treacherous 15 beware . . . me] P see what he has done with me
 16 And these] P These 17—18 as . . . and] P and weeping
 with lamentation she was 21 things] P < 21—22 To
 you . . . to the] P < 23—24 that didst . . . to him] P that wast
 to Joseph a companion

from me! Thou carest, O my Lord, for the servitude of freemen!”

And when they arrived and entered his house, that **18**
 wife of the Goth saw the girl that she was fair and
 5 comely, and forthwith she was perturbed and agitated,
 and began to ask her husband “Whence is this girl,
 and what is her history? And what is her country, and
 what is she doing with thee?” But that wicked one
 said “She is thy slave, and I have brought her for thee
 10 from Syria.” And she answered and said to him: “Indeed
 thou art lying, for her appearance is witness that she
 is not like the slave-girls.” And he again replied to her
 “I tell the truth, that she is thy slave.” Now the lonely **19**
 girl, when she saw what had befallen her, prepared her-
 15 self to serve in slavery, while by night and by day she
 was calling on God and saying only this: “My God, keep
 not Thy help far from me! Holy Martyrs, rise up for me
 in the land of the stranger! Confessors, my sureties, see
 my servitude and judge judgement for my oppression!”
 20 Now her mistress used to speak with great hatred and
 great enmity to her, and was using her with indignity
 and boxing her ears continually. And the girl did not

2 freemen!] P + Confessors! from you he took me, and in you my
 mother confided! 3 they] P he that] P and the

4—5 and comely] P < 5 and] P <

10 she answered and] P again she 11 is witness that she] P <

12 like] P + that of P

12—13 And slave”] P But he was cavilling “she is thy slave”

13 lonely] P <

14—15 prepared serve in] P subjected herself to

16 calling on God] P weeping much

16—17 My God far from me] P <

17 Holy Martyrs] P Confessors, my sureties

20 great hatred] P much hatred

21 great enmity] P enmity without end to her] P to the girl

know how to speak in her language or to appeal to her about anything, but only was weeping with sighing and calling the Confessors to her help; for she was longing for somebody to speak Syriac with her, and there was no one but that Goth who had taken her 5 away from the Syrian country, as from the length of time he had been in Edessa he had learnt to speak. And when the Goth woman had seen that the girl was with child she did not spare her, but all the more put additional hard work upon her and was demanding of 10 her more than her strength, so that in one way or another she should end her life.

20 And when the days had come near for the girl to bear, there was born to her a man-child, and he was like his father exceedingly; and when the wife of the 15 Goth saw that the baby was like her husband she was struck with envy, and in great indignation she said to her husband: "Look and see how like he is to thee! Here therefore cavilling and lying are of no use to thee!" And when many times in indignation she had said this 20 to him, he saith to her: "Thou hast authority over her; everything thou dost wish to do, do, for she is thy slave."

21 Now this companion to Jezebel the murderess of the Prophets covered her self with zeal against the boy 25 and took thought to kill it, and she brought out some

1 in her language] P with her in the language

2—3 with sighing help] P < 3 for] P and

6 the Syrian country] P her country length of] P <

7 speak] P + a little 11 more] P *pr.* to do

13 And when] P Now when 14 and he] P who

16 her husband] P his father 17 therefore] P <

22 for] P < 24 Now] P Then 25 zeal] P envy

murderous deadly poison that when there was opportunity she might make the baby lick it and he should die, for she was exceedingly troubled by the sight of him. And on one of the days when the baby was crawling
 5 along it cuddled up against her supposing that she was its mother, and threw itself upon her; and she forthwith became exceedingly embittered and sent its mother away to market, to a place a long way off, on some excuse or other. And when she saw that its mother
 10 was not near, she took that deadly poison and made the boy, or rather baby, lick it; and when the baby's mother²² came from where her mistress had sent her she sees her son in a fit: and some of that deadly poison had been vomited up and it was congealed on the baby's
 15 lips! And say anything she could not, but only weep bitterly and call on the Confessors to her help. And she devised in her heart and brought a lock of wool and wiped from the lips of her son that deadly poison which the Goth woman had made him lick, and she
 20 laid it in her handkerchief and kept it with care.

And after a little while the boy died and was buried.

And a little time after the decease of the son of the²³ lonely and oppressed girl there was a supper made by the Goth, and his friends were invited. And in the even-
 25 ing, when it was dark, she found a moment favourable to do by her mistress what she had done by her son, and that her wickedness should return on her own head,

5 supposing] P and supposed 7 its] P the baby's

11 boy or rather] P < 14 the baby's] P his

15 only] P < 20 handkerchief] P pillow care] P *pr.* great

21 after . . . while] P <

25 she] P the girl favourable] P + for her

and in the snare that she that she had hidden she might be caught even to the death. So when she was serving them as a maid and was mixing drink for them, the lock of wool with which she had wiped the lips of her son she took out from her handkerchief and dipped 5 it in the cup of wine, saying: "I shall see whether she made my son lick anything that he died: and if not, I shall know that it was by a death from God that my son died."

And when she devised this, she mixed the cup and 10 gave it to the Goth's wife; and when her mistress took and drank that cup she too slept a deadly slumber, and in the pit that she digged, in it she fell. And the Goth's wife died and was buried.

24 And after seven days of mourning for her the family 15 and kindred of the Goth woman woke up like lions, and the thought came over them that the stranger girl had given her the cup of deadly poison that she died of, and they devised against her to deliver her up to the judge. And because the judge was far from that 20 place, the counsel approved itself to their heart that they should bind her in the tomb by the stinking corpse and should shut the door in her face. And while they were dragging her along and beating her the people of

1—2 she might be] P she herself was
 5 from her handkerchief] P < 9 my son] P he
 12 and drank that cup] P that cup from the girl and drank
 13 the pit] P + of death P 15 seven] P "7"
 17 girl] P slave-girl 18 deadly poison] P death 20 the
 judge (1°)] P + and do many tortures upon her because] P <
 21 the counsel . . . heart] P and further the thought approved itself
 to them.
 22 tomb] P + of her mistress 23 And while] L* < And
 24 dragging her along] P making shipwreck of her

the city saw her, and they were grieved for her. And after they had gone and bound her in the tomb by the corpses they took thought lest the people of the city should come and open for her and let her out, and they
 5 rolled a great and mighty stone and laid it at the door of it, so that no one should be able to roll the stone from the tomb. And they took thought further that hard by the tomb they would sleep all that night, and in the early morning they would take her out from the
 10 tomb and impale her on a stake and shoot at her with arrows, because the judge was far from that place.

And when they were hearing the sound of her weeping and her anguish they had no pity for her. Now the smell of the stink of that corpse grew more stifling and
 15 was killing her.

Then she cried out in prayer unto God and said: **25**
 "God of Guria and of Shmona and of Ḥabbib! God, for the truth of whose faith Thy Holy ones the Confessors gave their necks to the slaughter, God that didst
 20 receive their blood as a living and holy sacrifice, come to the help of Thy handmaiden! God that for sinners didst mount the Cross of shame, deliver me from this distress! Guria and Shmona and Ḥabbib, pillars and **26**
 25 take me! My sureties the Confessors, aid me in this hour!"

Then God heard her cry and her supplication, and **27**

1 the city] P that city

2—3 by the corpses] P with the corpse

3—4 they took for her] P the people of the city had taken thought to come and open the tomb

6 able] P + at all 6—7 roll the stone from] P open

17 and of and of] P and and

23—24 pillars Blessed] P <

of a sudden the fierce and stinking smell of the stench of the corpse was turned to a pleasant smell of spices, and in the likeness of three men they appeared to her with a great light, saying to her: "Fear not, Euphemia; we are with thee and we will not leave thee! Quickly ⁵ comes thy deliverance, for our bond is near to be fulfilled, and the faith of thy fathers is not to be oppressed."

28 And there fell upon her a slumber and she slept, and **29** by the Power to which everything is easy this unspeakable miracle was wrought for her, as also unto the Pro- ¹⁰ phet Habakkuk in his time, in that when Daniel was hungry while he was lying in the midst of the den of lions in Babylon a meal from Jerusalem by the hand of Habakkuk was sent to him: so also, by the Divine Power that resides in the bones of the holy Martyrs ¹⁵ and Confessors to whom she called and in whom she had taken refuge, in that very night she found herself on the hill by the side of the Shrine of the holy Mar- **30** tyrs and Confessors. And when the East shewed, she felt stupefied as if from sleep, and she saw the holy ²⁰ Martyr Mar Shmona in the likeness of an old man standing by her, and saying to her: "Dost thou know where thou art now, and where thou art standing?" But she lifted up her eyes and saw the holy Shrine of the Confessors, and as now the sun was risen she went ²⁵

¹ and stinking] P < ² of spices] P that were (*sic*) beyond price

⁹ this] P an ¹² the midst of] P <

¹⁶ and Confessors] P the Confessors

^{16—17} to whom refuge] P to whom she drew near

¹⁷ herself] P that she was ¹⁸ on the hill] P + of Edessa

^{18—19} P the Martyr-shrine of the holy Confessors

²¹ Mar (= My Lord)] P <

²⁵ as risen] P just while the sun was rising went] P goes

to enter the holy Shrine of the Martyrs. Saith the blessed Shmona to her: "Lo, our bond is paid: go in peace!" And immediately he vanished from her, and she looked **31** to the right and to the left and in every direction, but she saw him no more.

And when she came to the door of the Shrine of the Martyrs, she heard the usual service, and she was filled with great joy and fear, and she was astonished and as in a dream she was seeing the affair. For the Proper **10** Psalm for them was "With my voice unto God I called, and He heard me; and I lifted up with my voice unto Him, and He answered me. In the day of my distress I sought the Lord." And her heart rejoiced, and exceedingly was she cheered with these words of the service **15** that they were performing. And she had drawn near by the Coffin of the Holy ones, the Confessors, and cast herself before them and with much weeping she was saying "All that the Lord willeth He doth in heaven and in earth, that in the evening should be weeping and in **20** the morning joy, for He hath sent from heaven and delivered me. Blessed be Thy Glory from Thy Place, O Lord, of whose praises heaven and earth are full! Blessed is the habitation of Thy Holy ones — your bond is paid, holy Confessors! Blessed is the Power of your **25** Lord, that doth dwell in your bones! No one that taketh

1 holy] P < 3 vanished] P disappeared

8 astonished] P astonishment (*sic*) 9 For the] P The

10 Ps LXXVII 1f. 13 exceedingly] P <

18—19 All earth (Ps CXXXV·6)] P <: *see* p. 73

19 for that in (Ps. XXX 6)] P In should be] P <

22 O Lord] P <

23 Thy Holy] P the Holy

23—24 — your Confessors!] P <

25 dwell in] P dwell upon

refuge in you is ashamed! No one that doth flee to your shelter and run unto you is vanquished! I confess to you, the oppressed slave-girl that hath been set free; I confess to you, the captive that hath returned to her country! For lo, in the evening I was at a great distance ⁵ in the city of the Goth a captive, and now I am in the blessed City of Edessa, in the temple where lie your bones, my sureties and my saviours and my deliverers from them that were distressing me. Holy is your habitation and adorable is the Power that resides in you!" ¹⁰

32 And when she had said these things, and lamentable tears from her eyes on the Coffin of the Holy ones she was shedding, the custodian was looking at her marvelling, and when they finished the service he drew near unto her and was asking her and saying: "Woman, why ¹⁵ art thou agitated, and what is thy business?" But the believing one repeated before him all the deed that God had done by her from the beginning even unto the end.

33 And when the custodian heard these things, he was astonished at the greatness of the matter so as even ²⁰ to doubt, and he sought to be assured of the truth and he wished to learn the abode of her mother, and with much diligence he sent and brought her mother that he might learn from her whether the matter was as her daughter said. 25

Now when her mother heard, forthwith she was much agitated, for that she supposed that she and her husband

1 in you] P with you 2 and run unto you] P <
 6 now] P † in the morning 9 them me] P my distresses
 10 and adorable in you] P < 11 lamentable] P urgent
 13 marvelling] P in exasperation 15 and saying] P <
 17 the deed (*lit.* 'business')] P miracle
 25 said] P † to him 26 forthwith] P <

had come. But when her mother had come up to the Shrine of the blessed Martyrs the Confessors she saw her daughter and did not recognise her for that she was clothed with garments of humiliation; but her daughter
5 recognised her, her mother, and drew near and did obeisance to her.

Now when her mother recognised that it was her daughter, the minds of the two of them were stirred with love and affection, and they were embracing each
10 other and they could not speak with one another for much weeping.

And when they had been much time thus, the brethren
34 of the Shrine of the Martyrs gathered together, and every one that was found there at the Shrine of the
15 Martyrs was amazed at the weeping that was holding the two. Then the Custodian asked Euphemia to tell before her mother the tale she had told before him and she told before her mother and before those that chanced to be present the tale of what the Divine Power that
20 dwells in the bones of the holy Martyrs the Confessors had done unto her, and how the Holy ones had taken her forth from the tomb that she was bound in and brought her many stages in the night. And every one that heard gave thanks and praised God, who doth the
25 pleasure of them that fear Him. Now her mother sent

4 garments of humiliation] P humble garments

7 recognised] P + her daughter and knew

15—16 that was holding the two] P of the two

16 Then (P *and* L *corr vid*)] L* But she

18—19 before (1°) of what] P everything that

20 in] P upon holy] P <

21 the Holy ones] P they

24—25 doth the pleasure of] P doth good pleasure for (*change of one letter*): see Note on § 1

and brought for her garments to put on and they stayed there all that day.

But when the sun drew near to set, they went down to their houses giving thanks to God, for the abundance of His grace that He had done by them. Now after 5 the day was over the tale of this affair had gone forth in all the city, and her family and the people of her neighbourhood gathered together; and when they saw her, they rejoiced and gave thanks to God who doth not neglect those that worship Him. And while the women 10 were staying together they were constant in prayer in the House of God, but on Sunday and on Friday they used to go up always and stay all day before the Coffin of the holy Martyrs in all modesty.

35 And after a little time that mighty Power of our 15 Creator, which is not be spoken or explained, shewed its vengeance as it is wont, and justice was aroused upon that wicked and lying man, the Goth; and by the Providence of God that was in this business the Goth came against his will to Edessa again with a certain 20 General who had been sent by the Emperor to this place to keep it from the enemies, the Persians, I mean, and the Huns, who had agreed to make war in this country. And as Pharaoh was caught in the Red Sea, so also this Goth was caught in the snare that he had hidden, 25

- 1 brought] P *pr.* they 2 all] P < 3 sun] P day
 4 houses] *see* p. 147¹⁶ 5—6 Now over] P And after that day
 7 the people] P *pr.* all 10 And] P <
 11 together] P < they] P and
 12—13 but stay] P and on Friday and on Sunday they did
 not cease from going up and staying
 15—16 of our Creator] P that is in them
 20 again] P < 22 I mean] P <
 23 agreed] P been sent 25 this] P that snare] P *pr.* very

and the Lord returned to him his recompence upon his head, and the pit that he digged, in it he fell, and in the net that he had hidden was he taken that despised the oaths and had contempt for the suretiship of the holy
 5 Martyrs, and trembled not at the fearful judgement of God. And Justice herself impelled him that in the very
 36 place that he had despised the oaths and lied he should receive the punishment of requital for his treachery.

And (so) on one of the days, when he, the Goth,
 10 was walking in the market, a certain man, their neighbour, saw him and spake with him, and he, the wicked and guilty fellow, just as if he did not know him or recognise him passed by him in agitation and did not
 15 linger for him, nor did he speak with him, but overlooked him as if not knowing him. And at once direct to the houses of Sophia and of Euphemia did that man, their neighbour, go up to let them know about that man, the Goth, and he was saying to them "That treacherous and guilty fellow who did by you all that trea-
 20 chery and great evil — to-day I have seen him and spoken with him. But contrive and see how it is fitting that this affair should be done."

Then forthwith they gathered together all their neigh-

1 to him] P < recompence] P wickedness

5 trembled God] P his heart trembled not

6 very] P < 7 he should] P *pr.* in it 8 of] P and

9 he, the Goth] P that wicked Goth

10 their neighbour] P one of their neighbours

11—15 and he knowing him] P for so agitated was the guilty Goth, that he neither recognised him nor lingered for him and spoke with that man as he should have spoken, but overlooked him and spoke with him in agitation and did not linger for him

16 houses (LP*)] P^{corr} house 17—18 to let Goth] P to make that Goth known 19 that treachery and] P this

23 Then forthwith they] P Now they forthwith

bours and their relations, and this they thought to do, that no one should reveal to him that her daughter Euphemia had come to this country. And all her kin went forth to seek that Goth with diligence; and when they found him they spake with him in friendliness, 5 saying to him "In thy mother-in-law's house it were fitting that thou shouldest stay and rest, and thither it were right that thou go directly, because she is in much cogitation about thee and very desirous to see thee about her daughter." And having flattered him they 10 brought him up to the house of Sophia his mother-in-
 37 law. But she, that faithful woman Sophia, had shut up Euphemia her daughter in an inner chamber, that he might not see her at present, so that all his falsehood and his treachery that he had done by them might be 15 exposed.

And when her neighbours and her relations had gathered together against the man in the midst of the house, Sophia his mother-in-law began to ask him, the liar, saying "What is thy tale, my son? And what is the 20 tale of Euphemia my daughter? How did the journey treat you? Has a son been born to you? Is it a boy or

- 2 to him] P + to that Goth her daughter] P thy daughter
 4 went forth diligence] P used great diligence to seek that Goth
 7 fitting] P + for thee 7—8 and rest go] P <
 10 about her daughter] P and ask thee about her having flattered
 him] P exhibiting much love for him they wheedled and flattered him (*sic*)
 11—12 Sophia -law] P Euphemia 12 woman] P <
 13 Euphemia] P < that he] P so that the Goth
 14 so that] P *pr.* and
 15 them (*fem.*)] P them (*masc.*)
 17 P their neighbours and all her relations
 19 the liar] P < 20 saying] P + to him tale] *lit.* 'voice'
 my son] P <
 22 Is it] P <

a girl? For I have been much in anxiety about you, because of the length of the journey!”

Now the treacherous fellow opened his mouth in falsehood and said to her: “In health we travelled, in peace
5 the whole way; and we entered our city in tranquillity and joy, and we have no evil tale and we are in health. And thy daughter sends greeting to thee and her most dutiful reverence for thee, and no hurt at all hath she, and a son hath been born to us, a boy, — and may
10 all those that thou lovest among your family be like her! And if we had not come forth hastily from our country, with me she was ready to come to see thee.”

And when Sophia heard these words of falsehood
15 from that Goth, she trembled and rent her clothes, and cried out with a loud voice and said “What has he done to my daughter, the treacherous and lying fellow? These are thy oaths! This is the covenant that thou has covenanted with me! The sureties thou gavest me, they shall bring thy life to an end, treacherous one!” And when
20 she said these things she brought out her daughter Euphemia and set her before him, saying to him “Thou knowest her, this girl here? Thou knowest how ye bound her? Those sureties thou gavest me, they brought her to me; the victorious Confessors, guardians of our country,
25 they brought her back from Sheol beneath, those holy

2 because journey] P for having let my daughter cross over. And how have you gone forth from thence? And for this I was grieving, because the journey was lengthy for you to go, that this might not happen to her, to my daughter, from the fatigue of the journey

4 in peace] P *pr.* and 5 city] P country

7 greeting] P *pr.* much 10 all those] P every one

12 ready to come] P coming here

15 cried out] P was agitated and wailed has he] P hast thou

16 the fellow] P < 25 back] P + to me

Martyrs, that thou didst stretch forth thy treacherous right hand and took her from, they rescued her from the tomb in which ye bound her living; Guria and Shmona and Habbib became for her swift steeds and delivered her from your hands!" 5

41 Now he when he heard these things and saw the girl too — the colour of his face was changed, and like a dead man so he became, and he was silenced and could not open his mouth and return any answer for shame and for the fear and terror that fell upon him. And all 10 they that were there seized that Goth, having bound him in the house in the midst of the house and they were all keeping watch over him. And they made an affidavit of all the affair, as it was from the beginning even to the end, and how with these many oaths and 15 with great promises and with a deed of dowry he had taken the girl, swearing that he had not taken a wife in his own country, and how he had gone forth and given them for sureties the Confessors, the victorious Martyrs, and how he stretched out his right hand and 20 took her from the Coffin where lie the bones of the holy Martyrs Shmona and Guria and Habbib; and how they appeared to her when bound in the tomb shining with a great light and glory, and abolished the stinking

2 right] P < 4 swift steeds] *see* p. 62

7—8 like became] P became like a dead man

9 shame] P *pr.* his

10 the fear] P his fear terror] P *pr.* the

11 P the man, that Goth having] P and

12—13 and they were] P < 14 affidavit] *see* p. 72

15 these] P < 20 right] P <

22 Martyrs] P < 23 when bound in] P in the midst of

24 great] P splendid light and glory] P and glorious light

abolished] P *pr.* it

smell of the corpse, for that there blew from them a sweet smell of spices; and how they brought her in one night the many stages.

And they went down and made it known to the chaste
 5 and holy priest Eulogius the Bishop, and they gave him
 the affidavit. Now the priest, when what was written
 was read before him, was astonished, yea, he marvelled
 at the audacity of that man, and great zeal was stirred 42
 in him, yea, he undertook the care of this business.
 10 And he gathered together his clergy with the presbyter,
 the Paramonarius of the Shrine of the holy Martyrs,
 the Confessors, and unto His Excellency the Stratelates
 he went and made it known, that which was written
 in the affidavit having been read before him, just as the
 15 whole business was. Now the Stratelates and every one
 that was there when they heard were amazed thereat,
 at this great miracle, which God had wrought by the
 suretiship of the Confessors, the sureties and Victorious
 ones, and they marvelled how that Goth had been so
 20 bold and had not trembled.

Then the Stratelates in a rage gave orders and they 43
 brought that Goth from where he was bound by them,
 and also the girl herself, Euphemia, and when they came
 they made them stand before the Stratelates and before

1 for that] P and 2 sweet] P <

4 went down] P came 5 Eulogius] P *pr.* Mar: see p. 142²¹

6 the priest] P he, the priest of God 7 yea, he] P and

9 yea] P and 10 his] P *pr.* all 13 he] P and they (*sic*)

13—14 that having been] P and when was (*sic*)

16 were] P was (*sic*)

18 the Confessors ones] P the Martyrs, the Confessors

21 rage] P *pr.* great 22 where] P the place that

23 herself] P <

24 they made] P he made the Stratelates] P *pr.* His Exeelleney

the glorious and holy priest Eulogius the Bishop; and all the city was gathered together. And they gave orders that what was written in the affidavit should be read, that the Goth and the girl might hear. And as soon as it was all read, they asked the Goth and said to him 5
 "Is it true what thou hast heard written in this affidavit?"
 Now the Goth replied "Yea, my Lord, it is true, and there is no word of falsehood in it, not one!"

44 Then the Stratelates said to him "Oh audacious against the truth! how was it thou didst not tremble at the 10 just judgement of God? And didst also be contemptuous of the pure laws of the Romans, and didst despise the oaths, yea make nothing of the covenant of the suretiship of the holy Martyrs, and give to subjection and bridle a free person with the yoke of slavery?" 15
 And forthwith the Stratelates commanded that he should receive sentence of execution by the sword and be burned with fire, for that he had dared to accomplish all this evil.

45 Now the true and merciful priest Eulogius the Bishop had entreated that it should not be for him so, but 20 that with mercy he should use him. And when Eulogius had made much entreaty, the Stratelates replied to him: "I tremble to have mercy on this man, lest on me the

1 glorious and holy priest] P priest of God Eulogius] P *pr.* Mar
 2 they] P he
 7 Goth] P *pr.* wicked replied] P made reply and said
 9—10 Oh truth!] P In truth tremble] P + audacious one
 11 just] P < 13 yea] P and
 15 a free person] *lit.* freedom yoke] P *pr.* cruel slavery] P
 barbarian dominion
 16 commanded] P *pr.* fiercely 17 of sword] P <
 18 all this] P this great 19 Eulogius the Bishop] P <
 20 had entreated] P entreated him 21 Eulogius] P *pr.* the holy
 22 replied] P made reply

Confessors should wreak vengeance, as one who con-
 temns and as one who despises their suretiship, and that
 others again should dare and should accomplish some-
 thing like this fellow, trusting for mercy." Then they⁴⁶
 5 led him and took him out of the city, and the sentence
 of the sword he received, and because of much entreaty
 he was exempted from the burning. And every one
 glorified and praised God, who doth the pleasure of them
 that fear Him and heareth and receiveth the supplication
 10 of those that frequent His Gate and take refuge with
 His Saints. To whom be glory and thanksgiving and
 exaltation, and to the Father who sent Him for our
 salvation, and to the Living and Holy Spirit, for ever
 and ever, Amen.

Here endeth the story about S. Euphemia and
 about Sophia the mother of her, who were
 from Edessa the Blessed City.

- 1 Confessors] P Holy ones contemns] P looks askance at
 2 as one who] P <
 3—4 something fellow] P again something like this
 7 the burning] P *pr.* the fire and
 8 doth the pleasure of] P doth good pleasure for: *see Note on § 1*
 11—12 and exaltation] P < 13 Living and] P <
 13—14 for ever Amen.] P now (*i. e.* now, and for ever, *etc.*)

Subscription in P: Here endeth the story of
 the Miracle that the holy Confessors performed
 on Euphemia who was betrothed to the Goth
 in the City of Edessa. Now it was copied
 from an old book that was written in the
 Imperial City of Constantinople by John the
 Recluse Monk.

APPENDIX I.

THE MERCHANT OF HARRAN.

The Story of the Merchant of Harrān and the Wife of Patricius is included here because it immediately follows the story of Euphemia in the Nitrian MS (L). I imagine that there can be little doubt that it is altogether Syriac in origin and transmission. It should be noted that the Harranians are regarded as pagans: this agrees with the witness of "Silvia"-Etheria, whatever the true date of that lady may be, though it was a fact not likely to be known except by those who had personal knowledge of the district. The tale is found also in B. M. Add. 12174, a vast collection of pious tales, written in 1197 A D, but the variations do not appear to be worth recording. The name "Royal City" for Constantinople is a point of contact with the colophon of P, the Paris MS of *Euphemia*, but the title is found elsewhere. The Patricius of this story can hardly have anything to do with Marcianus the Patricius, mentioned in the colophon to the translation of *Habbib* called G² (see v. Dobschütz, p. xxx).

After the emphasis laid in *Euphemia* upon the magic Power that abides with the genuine remains of the Confessors it is quite a relief to find that a miracle can be worked just as well with a bit of common stone, if only the psychological conditions for a lively faith are satisfied!

*Story about a Merchant who was in the Royal
City of Constantinople¹).*

A story worthy of commendation we wish to relate before you, our faithful brethren, sons of Holy Church; for even if to ignorant and irrational men it may seem too insignificant for us to hear it, yet to the believing and discreet it is a matter of astonishment and marvel in its operation.

Folk used to tell then and say that there was a certain man from Paddana, a village in the district of Ḥarrān — now these very persons received this story from the merchant himself — and this same merchant continually used to go up and down to the royal city Constantinople in the course of a merchant's business, for countries are wont to be nourished by neighbouring countries in respect of the things not found in them by folk who go and come to them.

Now there was a certain Patricius in this same City, and he had dealings with that merchant by way of business and matters of buying and selling. And the wife of that Patricius was barren. Now one day this same woman asked that merchant and said to him "Whence art thou?" And he said to her: "From Paddāna, a village in the district of Ḥarrān." The woman says to him: "Is it true that you have a monastery called Mar Abraham's? He says to her: "It is true." She says to him "Is the stone still there that Jacob rolled from the mouth of the Well, when he went down to Padan-Aram, and gave drink to the flock of Laban

1) B. M. Add. 14649, fol. 121r.

his mother's brother?" He says to her: "It is still there." The woman says to him: "As I hear, to many barren women God has given sons from that stone through their faith." The man says to her "The stone indeed is still there, but whether any property be given to it or no, I know not!" She says to him: "If so be that thou bring me a little of it, I will do many good things for thee."

And the merchant returned to his country, and at the turn of the year he got ready a load and went up, and from whatever cause it may have been he forgot and did not bring up for that woman that which she had told him to bring. And when she saw him she said to him: "Hast thou brought me that which I asked of thee?" But he — forthwith confusion fell upon his mind, for that he had forgotten and had not brought it for her, but openly he said to her: "It has been brought by me." She says to him: "On Sunday, at early dawn, bring it for me and come." But that merchant went forth outside the city, and he found a stone and broke off a little from it, and wrapped it in a clear piece of silk and put it inside a bag.

Now in the evening of the vigil of Sunday ¹⁾ the woman went to the bath and washed herself, and she cleansed together with herself her thoughts also; and the Martyrshrine that was within her house she adorned with lights and fine coverings, and she brought priests and kept up a service all night, she also keeping vigil with them and praying that God would give her her request, after the manner of Hanna when she was standing in prayer

1) Lit. "of the dawn of Sunday": comp. Lk. xxiii 54, and *Notes*, p. 168.

before Eli the Priest. Then at dawn on the Sunday she put off the garments she was clothed in and adorned herself in all the ornaments of her bridal dress, and standing within the door of the Martyr-shrine she spread out her skirts and received from the merchant that which he brought her, and she caressed it and embraced it and kissed it and pressed it against her eyes.

The faith that performs mighty deeds like God did not grudge her the reward of her faith, as neither did it to Hanna, and the LORD opened her womb and she conceived, and when she saw she was with child she revealed all the business to her husband. And when he learned it all he rejoiced and glorified God, and he called the merchant and said to him: "Now that God has done all this through thy hands, that which is to be born to us shall be thy son, and thou shalt receive him from baptism" ¹⁾).

Now that merchant when he heard, his heart was stupefied and trembling took possession of his limbs, and he believed in his heart and said: "It is established for me that great is the God of the Christians, and there is no faith except theirs! For lo, this business — if any one else had told it me, perchance I should have doubted it was not true; but lo, through my hands it came to pass and was performed! For if a bit of common stone through the woman's faith can give her a son, how much more if I had brought her some of that very stone which she asked for!" And the merchant returned to his own land; and some hindrance befel him, and he did not go up at the turn of the year.

1) This therefore is the Syriac phrase for "You shall be his God-father."

But as for that woman, she gave birth to a boy, and they were calling him by the name of the merchant, yet they did not baptize him, saying: "Till he comes, or we are decided about his coming."

Now after that year the merchant went up according to his custom, and he lodged where he was wont to lodge. But Patricius, when he was aware of it, sent his servants and they took him and his load up to their master's house, saying to him: "In thy son's house it is proper for thee to lodge." And he brought out the baby and laid him in his lap, saying: "This is thy son! But on Sunday, should our Lord will, he is to receive the seal of baptism and thou art to receive him."

Now the merchant, though he had believed, yet he had not yet been perfected with the Christian's Mystery. And so the merchant sat down and began relating to Patricius the whole business, as it was completed, from the beginning even to the end, how the woman had asked him "Whence art thou?", and when she asked him about the stone, and that she had begged of him to bring her some, and how when he forgot out of shame he had brought her a bit of some common stone from outside the city.

But when Patricius heard these things he marvelled exceedingly and glorified God, and forthwith he got up and went to the Palace, and cast himself down before the Emperor, and told him all this story, and the Emperor also when he heard was astonished and gave thanks and glorified God, who doth not disregard those that ask Him in faith. And they sent for the Patriarch also and commanded that on the Sunday there should be a new Feast, and the Emperor should go down with

the Patriarch to the Church, and that merchant should be baptized and Patricius should receive him, and on the next Sunday that baby should be baptized and the merchant should receive him. And thus according to the Providence of God they were both of them perfected.

Now these things, O brethren of ours, we have related before you that no man may doubt about the true faith of Christians, as if it were a weak thing in its nature, and not able to perform miracles for us as for them of old time. For it is not a weak thing in its own nature — far from it! — but in us it is weakened, and that through our slackness and our doubt and our transgression into sins. For if in any way our faith is from God, and He, God, hath said “I am He, and I change not”, why then Faith itself also is the same and doth not change.

Now may our Lord give to us, that through these things that in faith have been confirmed and perfected and completed — that we also in the same faith may be confirmed, and in hope and in love may be perfected, in the grace of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, to Whom and to His Father and to His Living and Holy Spirit [be glory], now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen.

Here endeth the Story about the Merchant and
about the Wife of Patricius.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE DATE OF THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM BY SALADIN.

In the course of tracing out the later history of Edessa I chanced to come across the following curiosities of dating, which may have some interest to the readers of this book, as a parallel to the inaccuracies that meet us in the story of Shmona and Guria.

There can be little doubt that, as a matter of fact, Jerusalem capitulated to Saladin on Friday, the 2nd of October, 1187 A.D. The year 583 of the Hegira is given in the extant inscription of Saladin, commemorating the victory. Ibn el-Athir, who was a contemporary, further tells us that the Cross which the Crusaders had erected on the top of the Dome of the Rock was pulled down the very day that the city was taken, which was a Friday, and that on the following Friday, which was the 4th of Sha^cbān, the building was cleansed with rose-water, and a service held at which Saladin was present ¹). Now by a reference to Mas Latrie's Tables we find that 4 Sha^cbān 583 A. H. = 9 Oct. 1187 A. D., and that the day was a Friday.

The Continuator of William of Tyre gives the fatal date very fully. He says: "Le jor que la cité de Jerusalem fu renduë estoit vendredi, et fu feste Saint Legier, qui est le second jor d'octobre en l'an de l'incarnation

1) The texts are collected in De Vogüé's *Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 78.

Nostre Seigneur mil cent et quatre vingt et huit." That is to say, the day of the week and month are correctly given, but the year is wrong. No doubt it had once been written, wholly or partly, in figures and there was one stroke too many.

Bar Hebraeus also tells the story of the loss of Jerusalem. He gives the date as the 27th of the seventh Arab month, 583 A.H., which agrees with Ibn el-Athir, but he also says it was Friday, the 12th October, 1498 A.Gr. (= 1186 AD.)¹). That is to say, he gets the month and the day of the week right, but the day of the month is wrong and the year is wrong. The conjecture is obvious that in his authority the date of the month was written in figures $\overline{12}$ (12th), instead of $\overline{2}$ (2rd). The error in the description of the sack of Edessa was also ten days, but it was the other way round.

With regard to the year it appears that Bar Hebraeus's error comes rather from mistaken erudition than from a scribe's blunder, for he tells us that Jerusalem was taken 28 days after the conjunction of the Six Planets; and this conjunction he asserts to have taken place on the 29th of the 6th Arab month, 583 A.H. This really is 4 Sept. 1187, but Bar Hebraeus says it was 14 Sept. 1497 A.Gr. (= 1186 A.D., the Seleucid year beginning on Oct. 1²)). Sir Robert Ball has kindly ascertained for me that the Conjunction took place on 15 Sept. 1186: Bar Hebraeus has therefore gone wrong by exactly one Mohammedan year! In all these cases, however, the day of the week has been correctly handed down.

1) B. H. Chron., p. 405.

2) B. H. Chr., p. 396.

NOTES

[TO THE ENGLISH TEXT IN "TRANSLATIONS"].

NOTES TO SHMONA AND GURIA.

§ 1 (Page 90, l. 6) *Ḳonna, Bishop of Edessa.* The name **קנא**, always in the genitive, is given as *Κοννᾶ*, *Κόνουος*, *Κονᾶ*, *Κογνάτου*, and in Latin *Conae*. The form *Κόγνατος* (i.e. *Cognatus*) is itself a recognition of the doubled consonant, so I have adopted the spelling *Ḳonna*. The one thing certainly known about *Ḳonna* is that he remained Bishop of Edessa after the Persecution and that it was he who began to build the 'Great Church' of Edessa in 312/13 A.D. (*Chron. Edess.* XII), i.e. in the year of the Edict of Milan. It would be interesting to learn how the Bishop escaped the persecution in which Shmona, Guria and Ḥabbib fell victims.

Nothing more is known about *Ḳonna*. So far as I have been able to discover, the only further independent mention of him is in B.M. Add. 14504, a 9th century Tropologion. In a Kalendar of Festivals and Saints' Days prefixed to this we read

תבא קנא . תנאףא ד אבא קנא (Sep. 2)

. קנא קנא ד קנא קנא . קנא קנא

. קנא קנא קנא קנא (Sep. 3)

Sep. 2. *Of S. Simeon Stylites, the day on which he was perfected, and the renewal (consecration) of the Church of King Abgar.*

Sep. 3. *Of Ḳonna and Sha'ad and Aitilaha, the Martyrs.*

Sha'ad and Aitilaha were Konna's immediate successors. "The holy Confessors who were crowned in Edessa" (no names) are duly commemorated together on Nov. 15 in this MS, which is Jacobite in origin and came to be used in the Syrian church at Fostat (Cairo). In Rahmani's Chronicle (*fol.* 93v) Sha'ad is called **𐩧𐩬𐩪𐩬** and Konna is called **𐩪𐩶𐩪**, as in the margin of J in this passage.

§ 3 (Page 91, l. 7) *Sargai-Ketma*. I have entirely failed to find any further notice of this place or of 'Gannada'. The spelling in the Greek MSS varies between *Σαργαϊκετμᾶς*, *Σαργηκίτνας*, *Σαργηκήτμας*, while the Armenian has *Margegetma*. It seems evident therefore that J, which only has **𐩪𐩶𐩪**, has lost two syllables. But *Sargai-Ketma* (? "Saddles of Ashes") is a very odd name. It is remarkable that none of the "Confessors of Edessa" come from Edessa itself.

That **𐩪𐩶𐩪** (lit. 'hallowed') means a celibate ascetic is recognised by **Ⲅ**¹ which renders it *ὁ ἐγκρατής*.

It would be tempting to translate **𐩪𐩶𐩪 𐩪𐩶𐩪** by "the local judge", but the same title is clearly used in *Habbib* 7 of the judge in Edessa.

§ 5 (Page 92, l. 10ff.) *The List of Martyrs*. This List is almost certainly dependent upon the Syriac translation of Eusebius's *Martyrs of Palestine*, for "Epiphanius" corresponds to the **𐩶𐩬𐩪𐩪** of Cureton's text, which itself is a miswriting of Ἀπφιανόσ (Eus. *MP* IV). Further, **𐩶𐩬𐩪𐩪** here and in Cureton appears to be meant for Πηλεός (*MP* XIII). Before Hesychius of Nicomedia **Ⲅ**¹

inserts Agapetus of Thessalonica and after Hesychius adds Philip of Hadrianople.

If we may regard Agapetus as a mistake for Agape (April 2) all the names not taken from Eusebius occur in the ancient Syriac Martyrology, except Peter of Melitene. But it is difficult to see upon what principle they were taken. Hermas (or Hermes) of Nisibis, commemorated in the Syrian Martyrology on the Friday after Easter, is not mentioned by S. Ephraim in his *Carmina Nisibena*.

§ 6 (Page 92, l. 18) *Mysianus*. \mathfrak{G}^2 has *Μυσιανός*, \mathfrak{G}^1 has *Μουσώνιος* in § 16f., but *Ἀντώνιος* here. The Armenian has *Musisianus*. In § 16f. our Syriac codex appears to have *Lysianus* in its exemplar. *Mysianus* appears to be a different person from *Ausonius* (or *Lysanias*) before whom *Habbib* was tried: see further on *Habbib* § 3 (p. 175).

§ 15 (Page 94, l. 7) *The Caravanserai*. The topographical addition in \mathfrak{G}^2 is quite unlike other additions to the Acts in either Greek version. \mathfrak{G}^2 especially exhibits elsewhere no interest in such matters: see *S. & G.* 56, 57; *H.* 35. This addition is therefore unlikely to be a mere interpolation: more probably it preserves the original text, which has been here curtailed in J and in $\mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{G}^1$.

§ 27 (Page 97, l. 28) *Leontius*. In the Syriac the name of the jailor occurs here only. In \mathfrak{G}^1 and the Armenian it occurs also in § 15: \mathfrak{G}^2 does not give a name in either place. I venture to think a mention of the jailor more likely to have been inserted in § 15 than omitted, i.e.

any word for pole or pike. I have therefore followed the indication given by the Armenian, which has "an iron ring". The Syriac word ܠܘܠܘܐ 'a buckle' is not unlike ܠܘܠܘܐ, and it gives the sense required. In either case we are to think of Shmona as hanging from some sort of horizontal support, whether a bar or a buckle, passing under his right knee, the 'fetter' (*kabba*) being heavy enough to keep his right foot down and his knee bent.

§ 41 (Page 101, l. 17ff.) *The Trial at Night*. The hour indicated corresponds very closely with that of the Trial of Jesus in the Gospels (Mk XIV 72). As these midnight sessions find no place in our modern practice they have sometimes been actually held to cast doubt upon the whole story. It is therefore worth while to notice that S. Irenaeus of Sirmium, a Diocletian martyr, had a similar trial: "Quodam autem tempore media nocte, residente pro tribunali praeside Probo, introductus est iterum beatissimus martyr Irenaeus" (O. v. Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta*, p. 163). Neither with this Irenaeus nor with Shmona and Guria is there any attempt to suggest a parallel between their trials and the trial of our Lord. They must therefore be held to shew that midnight trials did take place under Roman officials, at least in certain Provinces.

The method of stating the date is worth notice. The Kalendar used in Syriac documents is the Julian, except that the months are called by the Aramaic names and are reckoned from the beginning like ours, and not by Ides and Kalends. I have therefore translated *Āb* by August and *Tishrīm ʿḥrāy* by October, as they exactly

correspond to these months¹). Along with the Roman Kalendar the Syrians adopted the Roman division of the civil day, which is also ours. As they were unprovided with clocks and watches, that which happened in the *ἀσπρία*, in the middle of the night, was reckoned to the preceding day in the case of those who stayed out late, but to the following day in the case of those who rose early. Joshua Stylites § 27 says: "On May 17, 496 A.D., the citizens of Edessa kept heathen festival, . . . and on this day, which is Friday the dawning of Saturday, they had a gala night in honour of Trimerius the dancer". This obviously is a use of terms analogous to our own, and different from e.g. the Jewish use, according to which the whole of the night festival would have been reckoned as belonging to Saturday. In the present case the Governor has not been up all night, but has risen early, therefore this trial (which is represented as taking place about 5 a.m.) is described as belonging to the following day.

The word for "dawning", though by derivation it implies the light of visible dawn, is used both here and in the Gospels and in Josh. Styl. §§ 27, 47, in the conventional sense of "preceding the following day".

The word *Balq* which appears in the Armenian here is a corruption of *Balaniaq*, i.e. "Baths".

"Flambeaux" (l. 21) is only a guess. So far as I can ascertain, the word *κῆρια*, here presented by J, is otherwise entirely unknown. I imagine it is merely a miswriting of *κῆρια*, i.e. "torches", *λαμπάδες*.

1) It is just possible that in early times there was no 31st day to a month, but the 30th day was reckoned twice over, as in the Anglican division of the Psalter.

§ 67 (Page 108, l. 1) *The Coffin*. The ultimate fate of this Coffin is told by Bar Hebraeus (see Introd. p. 68). The Syriac word **ܟܠܫܡܐ** *gluskma* is, of course, derived from *γλωσσόκομον*, but it is quite a naturalised word (as is shewn by the pronunciation) and is used for Coffin in purely Syriac original writings, e.g. Ephraim *Overbeck* 12₂₂; Josh. Styl. § 80. I have ascertained from the "Nestorian Masora" (B.M. Add. 12138) that the pronunciation really is *gluskma*, i.e. two syllables only, with *u* (not *o*) in the first syllable.

§ 68 (Page 108, l. 14) *Arak-Edessa*. The city commonly called Edessa by modern scholars had various names. By the inhabitants, as long as Syriac continued to be the vernacular, it was generally called **ܐܘܪܗܝ** *Urhāi*. From this name is derived the Arabic **أُرْفَا** and the modern *Urfa*. The name Edessa is derived from *Ἐδεσσα* in Macedonia, and was no doubt the name given to the town on its re-foundation by Seleucus Nicator: this is the name by which it was known to the Greek-speaking world. Besides these, the name **ܐܪܟ** (vocalised *Ārāk*) also occurs.

In Genesis X 10 Nimrod's dominion is said to have been

בבֶּל וְאַרְרָךְ וְאַכַּד וְכַלְנֵה בְּאַרְצֵי שֹׁנַעַר

that is to say, "Babylon and Warka and Akkad and Calneh in the Sumerian land". Whatever difficulties there may be in the exact identification of these places, there can be no doubt that they are all in Babylonia, not so very far from Baghdad. In the Peshiṭta the second and third names appear as **ܐܪܟ** (*Ārāk*), and **ܐܟܐܪ** (*Ākār*), and about these names Ephraim in his Com-

mentary on Genesis (*ES* I 58) says “*Ārāk*, which is Edessa” (ܐܪܐܟ ܐܕܥܫܐ ܝܪܝܟ) and “*Ākār*, which is Nisibis”. Almost all the passage where Edessa is called *Ārāk* in Syriac writings appear to be mere echoes of Ephraim’s identification.

But whatever view we taken about the historicity of *Shmona and Guria* the occurrence here of *Ārāk* is pointless, except it be a genuine reflexion of actual usage. It is therefore good evidence that this really was a name for Edessa, which seems to have dropped out in later times.

The name *Urhāi* does not look like a native Syriac word, such as *Niṣ̄bin* or *Tella* or *Dāra*. If *Ārāk* was the really ancient native name for Edessa, then *Urhāi* may after all be a Semitic corruption of [Καλλι]ρόη, by which name Edessa was also known — *a fonte nominata*, as Pliny says (*HN* v 24).

I have not been able to detect any difference of topographical meaning between ܝܪܝܟ, ܐܪܐܟ and ܥܡܝܐܪܐ.

§ 68 (Page 108, l. 14ff.) *The List of Bishops*. The whole of § 68 is left out in G^1 . The Armenian has only “And the crowning took place in the days of Kona, Bishop of the same city, to the praise of Christ our God, to whom &c.” But G^2 has “Now the Holy ones were martyred in the days of Konna, Bishop of Edessa, and of Gallius [*leg.* Gaius] Bishop of Rome, and of Hymenaeus Bishop of Jerusalem, and of Thynas [*leg.* Theonas] Bishop of Alexandria, and of Traianus [*leg.* Tyrannus] Bishop of Antioch, by whose prayers may Christ our true God keep the Church unmoved and

undisturbed and grant victory to our orthodox Emperors", &c. The agreement of \mathfrak{G}^2 with our Syriac Codex J makes it certain that the List really belongs to the document. As it stands in \mathfrak{G}^2 it is a mere list of synchronisms to date the martyrdom of Shmona and Guria, and as such it is contradictory both with the rest of the story and with itself (see pp. 7 and 31). But the Syriac text, as I have already pointed out on p. 31, does not give us a regular list of synchronisms. The story of SS. Shmona and Guria in J comes to an end with their deposition in the Coffin and with the sound of the "psalms and litanies" which the pious folk of Edessa chanted over them. All the rest of § 67 and §§ 68—70 is the author's peroration. The List of Bishops refers to the 'Diocletian' Persecution generally, not to the Edessene martyrs alone, just as the list of countries which follows in J refers to the Persecution generally and not to Edessa only.

§ 70 (Page 109, ll. 19, 20) *Monasteries and Monks*. I have ventured to omit one or two clauses here as anachronisms. The words in J here omitted are exactly analogous to the mention of 'nuns' in § 1 (Page 90, l. 11), which is shewn to be an interpolation by its absence from all the versions. Such additions we may expect to find in a late copy like J; their presence does not throw any discredit upon the whole peroration, any more than does the occurrence of Habbib's name (see p. 110, l. 6 note).

NOTES TO ḤABBIB.

§ 2 (Page 113, l. 3) *And he was commanding them* is as odd in Syriac as it is in English. Possibly some words have dropped out of the Syriac text. ܐܘܢܘܢܐ ܠܘܡܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ is translated by Cureton "and he gave them instructions", but the Pael of ܐܘܢܐ is not thus used absolutely. I take this opportunity of pointing out a double error in Brockelmann's Lexicon, p. 282b, art. ܐܘܢܐ. He gives, at the end, "Af. roboravit Ez 18₂₃". The passage meant is evidently Exodus 18₂₃, where ܐܘܢܐ ܠܘܡܢܐ does occur and also is pointed *maphked lāk* by Lee, following Jacobite tradition. But the Urmi edition has *mpakked lāk* (i.e. the ordinary Pael conjugation), and 'roboravit' simply comes from the LXX καταίσχυσει. The Hebrew is ַיְצַו־ of which the Peshitta is a literal translation. So far as I know, the Afel of ܐܘܢܐ is not alleged to occur elsewhere.

§ 2 (Page 113, l. 6) *That state (ܦܘܢܐ) in which they stood.* ܦܘܢܐ is derived from the verb for 'to stand', so that there is about as much paronomasia in the Syriac phrase as there is in the English, not more. The whole phrase reappears in Aphraates I 71₁₁ in the same sense, and in S. & G. § 40 Shmona refuses to "turn away" from his Christian *status*.

The early Syriac ecclesiastical use of **ܦܢܘܟܐ** has been treated by Prof. A. J. Wensinck in *ZDMG* LXIV (1910), pp. 561 ff., 812, with reference to the **ܦܢܘܟܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ**, "sons of the covenant". That these persons were ascetics who abstained at least from marriage, and to a great extent from worldly affairs, is evident; the main question is to what extent and during what periods they were contemporaneous with the body of baptized Christians. Dr. Wensinck brings forward a number of passages from Aphraates which tend to shew that *Kyāmā* means "status" or "rank" rather than "a covenant", though it very often corresponds to the Hebrew **ברית**. But when *kyāmā* means "status", I think it is always what Aphraates I 588 &c. calls "the holy status", i.e. the *κατὸν* or rule of life practised by the saints of God. This is certainly the case in Aphr. II 105, 107, and also in the two passages of Ephraim where the word is used independently of the Bible. In *ES* I 47^A we are told how the daughters of Cain caused the sons of Seth to forget the *status* that was set up for them by their fathers, and in *ES* II 454^A Ephraim asks "How have the pure become numerous in the world, they whose *kyāmā* has despised Fate and Nature?" Whether we call this a *status* or a *covenant* it is the way of life indicated by Job XXXI 1. The "Sons of the *kyāmā*" are those whose way of life is that of the saints of God, the approved details varying from age to age. I venture to think it always included a promise (as in Philoxenus 609₆), and therefore I have continued to render **ܦܢܘܟܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ** in *S. & G.* § 70 and elsewhere by "Sons of the Covenant".

§ 3 (Page 113, l. 7) *The city Informers* (**ܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ**).

These personages are mentioned in *Habbib* §§ 3, 13a, 39a, in *Sharbel*, p. 69, in *Barsamya*, pp. 63, 64, 71. They do not appear at all in *Shmona and Guria*. In *Sharbel* and *Barsamya* the term is treated as known and technical. In *Habbib*, on the other hand, it is explained each time that their duty was to collect information and bring it to the Governor. The Greek versions consistently avoid mentioning these persons, the nearest rendering being *τινες κακοῦργοι* in G^2 here. Further we may notice that all the other office-bearers that occur in these Acts have Graeco-Latin names, such as *Commentaresius* and *Exceptores*.

I infer from these facts:

(1) that the name is intended to be descriptive, not technical. *Sharrīra* means one who is entrusted with the due performance of something (see esp. *Mar Pethion* 32₁₄): in this case the nature of the duty is expressly stated, *viz.* that of confidential Reports to the Roman executive in Edessa.

(2) that the Syriac text is here original, and that the Greek versions which leave out all mention of these *Sharrīrē* did so either because this detail of heathen administration seemed uninteresting, or because a word which etymologically means "true men" was misunderstood.

(3) that *Sharbel* and *Barsamya* have misunderstood the use of the term in *Habbib*, and have turned the Governor's confidential spies or reporters into public officials, who arrest Christians (*ASD* p. 64₂) or express opinions of their own (p. 60₁₅). The public officials of Edessa are not *Sharrīrē* but *Strategi*.

In the account of the flood of 201 A.D. at Edessa,

given in the Edessene Chronicle, *Sharrīrē* are mentioned not as executive officials, but as the persons who place a Report on the flood in the public archives.

If, as elsewhere suggested, the account of the trial of Ḥabbib was written up from such official documents as Theophilus could collect, it is quite conceivable to me that such documents might very well include some reports from detectives as to the sentiments and temper of the predominantly Christian population of Edessa during the official Persecution.

§ 3 (Page 113, l. 9) *Ausonius* or *Lysanias*. The name of the Roman Governor who tried Ḥabbib is mentioned in § 3 and in § 5. Cureton's text has **ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲗⲗ** in both places, the name occurring each time after the preposition Δ. G¹ has ἐπὶ Λυσανίου in § 3 and in § 5 leaves out the personal name. G² has παρὰ Αὐσωνίῳ in § 3 and Αὐσωνίῳ in § 5. It had seemed obvious that the reading of G² was a mere corruption, and I found out too late that in § 5 the first hand of Codex N had **ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲗⲗ**, now corrected to **ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲗⲗ**. Further, the best MS of G¹. (v. Dobschütz's A) reads ἐπὶ πρᾶϋσνίου, which goes some way towards ἐπὶ αὐσωνίου.

It seems to me now evident that the convergence of the three lines of transmission suggests that the original text called the Governor Ausonius.

Prof. v. Dobschütz (p. XLVII, note 2) points out as a circumstance unfavourable to the historicity of Ḥabbib that Lysanias is also the persecuting Governor in *Sharbel* and *Barsamya*, and that Lysias is almost the regular name given to the persecuting Governor in the Acts of

Diocletian martyrs, giving no less than eight examples. This explains very well why Lysanias should appear in various later texts of Ḥabbib, while the fact that the genuine text appears to give Ausonius, and not Lysanias after all, suggests that this less common name may be historically correct.

The Judge who tried Ḥabbib is much rougher and sharper than the one who tried Shmona and Guria: it is no wonder that they have different names, for they are obviously different persons. Yet in *S. & G.* our Syriac MS calls Mysianus "Lysanias" in §§ 16, 17.

§ 4 (Page 113, l. 22f.) *Constantine and Italy*. A line has evidently dropped out of the exemplar from which N was copied. For Italy (ܐܝܬܐܠܝܐ) N has ܐܝܬܐܠܝܐ, but both G¹ and G² mention Italy, and this alone makes sense, as we learn from § 39 that Constantine is just on the point of setting out to take possession of Rome. The name of Maxentius does not seem to have reached Edessa. In any case the words of § 4 presuppose the state of things before the Edicts of Toleration, not that of the later 'persecution' of Licinius.

§ 8 (Page 114, l. 27) *Into the courtyard*. Here N has ܐܘܬܐܪܝܬܐ, which makes no sense. G¹ has κρυφίως (= ܐܘܬܐܪܝܬܐ), and G² has κατὰ τοῦ οἴκου (= ܐܘܬܐܪܝܬܐ): both guesses. I have conjectured ܐܘܬܐܪܝܬܐ: see 2 Macc XIII 15 (Syr.).

§ 19 (Page 119, l. 15) *The Emperors' Festival-Day* (ܐܘܬܐܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܠ). From the context this is clearly the 1st of Elūl, i.e. Sept. 1. The decree to arrest Ḥabbib is issued in August, Ḥabbib is examined as soon as he has

given himself up. But that day was the **כנינתו וזמנו**, and, no delay being indicated, Ḥabbib is tried and sentenced on Sept. 2. Caesar-worship on the first day of the month, and especially on the first day of the month with which the year began, is discussed by C. H. Turner in *Studia Biblica* II, p. 113.

The word **כנינתו** is otherwise unknown. On p. 33, note, and on p. 86, I have suggested that it corresponds to the **אידים** in *Aboda Zara* I 1. Possibly we should emend it into **כנינתו** and regard it as a transliteration of *ἱερά*, i.e. *ἡ ἱερά ἡμέρα*.

§ 20 (Page 121, l. 3) “creaked”, lit. “spoke” (**אלל**). This odd phrase occurs again in *Sharbel*: in fact, Ḥabbib § 20, short as it is, very well illustrates the whole problem of the literary affiliation of the Edessene *Acta Martyrum*. While Ḥabbib is hanging to be torn with the iron “comb”, they *drag* or *pull* him about (**מגדפין**): the same word is used of the treatment given to Shmona and Guria (*S. & G.* § 27). He is left hanging a long *while* (**כנינתו כנינתו**): so also Sharbel hangs a long while (*ASD* 11 26). He is left hanging, until his shoulder-blades *creaked* (**אלל**): so also Sharbel at his execution is put into a vice, until the bones of his joints creaked (*ASD* 10 4).

It is obvious that such coincidences cannot be accidental and that some literary connexion must subsist between the three documents. The difference between them is this, that whereas in *Shmona & Guria* and in *Ḥabbib* the terms used for the several tortures always have some show of reason, in *Sharbel* they do not seem

mechanically imagined at all. In the present case, there is some point in saying that a man's joints creaked by being over-strained, but none at all by compressing them in a vice.

§ 35 (Page 125, l. 5 f.) *The "Gate of the Arches"*. For the situation of this Gate, see p. 37 and Joshua Stylites § 27. The exact meaning of the name (ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ) is uncertain, but very likely it was derived, as in the case of the Sundial Gate, from some architectural feature. None of the Gates of Edessa seem to have taken their name in ancient times from the place to which they led.

Nothing is known for certain about ʿAbshelama bar Abgar, or about his cemetery. What the Edessene Chronicle calls "the cemetery of Edessa" was not built till 324 (§ XIII). According to the Edessene tradition a certain ʿAbshelama succeeded Paluṭ and preceded Barsamya as Bishop of Edessa, but he is not elsewhere called a son of Abgar.

The name ܩܘܕܫܐ is no doubt a contraction of ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ, just as ܩܘܕܫܐ is a contraction of ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ. Unfortunately we do not know the pronunciation of the name of the God ܩܘܕܫܐ. ܩ² omits the name here altogether, ܩ¹ appears to have originally had Ἀβσελμᾶσ. A more genuinely vernacular transcription into Greek is to be found in Eusebius *De Mart. Pal.* x, where we read of Πέτρος ἀσκητής, ὁ καὶ Ἀψέλαμος, the name in the Syriac being ܩܘܕܫܐ (*Cureton*, p. 1). This may be taken to indicate that there was a vowel between the ܩ and the ܫ, and that therefore the name should be written ʿAbshlāma, rather than ʿAbshalma.

§ 38a (Page 126, l. 15 f.) *The Procession*. Shmona and Guria were buried where they were executed, Ḥabbib's body is carried to the grave of Shmona and Guria. It is evident therefore that Ḥabbib was burnt a good deal nearer to the Gate of the Arches than Beth Alah Kikla is. See further p. 42, for details of the topography.

§ 40 (Page 127, l. 27) *Domitian*. The mention of Domitian is very odd. Had it been Trajan or Decius, it might have been held to refer to the martyrdom of Sharbel and the confession of Barsamya, according either to the traditional or the historically probable date of those events. But Domitian lies altogether outside the ecclesiastical history of Edessa, which only came under the Roman dominion after 116 A.D. Further, the construction of this sentence is very confused in Codex N, which is our only authority for all that follows the first sentence in § 40. I imagine that the mention of "Domitian" is nothing more than a scribe's error. In *Ḥabbib* § 1, Diocletian's Persecution is called the first (or, former) persecution, and I venture to think it probable that in this passage ܘܢܘܕܝܢܘܨܝܢ (ܘܢܘܕܝܢܘܨܝܢ) is a miswriting of ܘܢܘܕܝܠܘܨܝܢ, i.e. *Diocletianus*. In some Syriac hands ܢ is not unlike ܕ. The "former martyrs" will then refer to Shmona and Guria.

Cureton (*ASD* 189) notices the possibility that Diocletian should be read, but rejects the suggestion.

§ 40 (Page 128, l. 10) *The Martyrs' dust*. Professor v. Dobschütz (p. 99) suggests that the words "may the dust crowned" are an interpolation, referring to a *Staubkult*, so that the words here translated "may He

pardon me". I venture to think that the words are genuine, and that Theophilus expresses the hope that "the dust of these Martyrs' feet" which fell on him as he accompanied them to the place of their execution may itself act as a protective charm for him in the Day of Judgement. It was at the execution of Shmona and Guria that he was converted: the dust of the Martyrs' feet would be for a testimony against the persecutors (Mk VI 11; also *Pistis Sophia* 273), but it would protect the repentant Theophilus. Such dust from the skin of a Holy man was called in Syriac ܠܘܘܢ, i.e. "a mercy".

§ 40 (Page 128, ll. 15—17) *The 27 Questions*. A kind of parallel to this curious summary of the trial of Ḥabbib is found in one of the two MSS used by Cureton for *Sharbel*. This MS is B.M. Add. 14645, the same Codex N from which the text of *Ḥabbib* is taken. After describing the burial of Sharbel (*ASD*, p. 61 and also p. 185) the document goes on to say:

"I wrote these acts on paper, I, Marinus and Anatolus, the notaries; and we placed them in the archives of the city, where the charters of the kings are placed. [And that which was spoken by the Judge, those who stood in the Judge's presence wrote down; but all the rest, which took place outside the tribunal, the Sharrirs of the city wrote down, and they went in and made it known to the Judge, and he, according as he heard from them, gave orders in the legal manner, agreeably to the custom of the ordinances and laws of old. Thus these Acts were written, and deposited in the chamber of ancient records. But there are fifty-two questions

which the Judge asked Sharbel; and then they gave against him the bitter sentence of death, which is widely apart from the laws of the Romans, and from the sentence of their edicts. But this transaction of the Confession of Sharbel took place in the first consulate of Commodus and Cerealis]”.

The passage in brackets is found only in Codex N.

Two questions call for solution: (1) whether these paragraphs in *Habbib* and *Sharbel* are part of the genuine text or an addition made by the scribe of N; and (2) whether either of them, if genuine, throws any light upon the sources employed by the writers.

The answers to these questions must be largely a matter of impression. I venture to suggest that the paragraph in *Sharbel* is genuine, i.e. that it is part of the regular text of that work, and that its absence from Cureton's Codex A (B.M. Add. 14644) is due to curtailment. It is exactly similar in general characteristics to the rest of the Acts of Sharbel. The Consulship of Commodus and Cerealis comes from the beginning of *Barsamya*, the description of the duties of the Sharrirs comes from the same place and from the earlier part of *Habbib* 40 (see above, on *Habbib* 3, p. 174), and I think the mention of the 52 Questions put to Sharbel is imitated from the mention of the 27 Questions put to Habbib. That the paragraph in Sharbel has any special historical value is of course out of the question, but it seems to me to be of a piece with the rest of the work, and not to be the note of a transcriber.

The note in *Habbib* seems to me rather different in character. It comes in too oddly at the end to be the work of a transcriber writing a kind of Masoretic Note,

and yet it can hardly be an integral part of the Martyrdom, for the preceding paragraph is the peroration of the work. The suggestion made on p. 24 of this volume, that this curious sentence is part of Theophilus's rough notes made in compiling his narrative, is a mere conjecture, but it seems to me a not improbable one. *Shmona and Guria* does not appeal to documents, except for Shmona's words §§ 37, 38. The author professes to have seen the executions and to have written his narrative at once. *Habbib*, on the other hand, does not profess to have been written at once and it does appeal to documents. Is not this in accordance both with internal evidence and historical probability? *Shmona and Guria* bears the stronger marks of authenticity. Moreover it professes to have been written during the persecution. *Habbib*, on the other hand, was written "when the persecution had relaxed a little", and when therefore it might be possible for a person connected with the administration, such as Theophilus seems to have been, to have looked at the records of the trial. He may have seen some private report on Christian feeling in the town, which he magnifies into the *Acta* of the "*Sharrirs*", and he may have found this short account of the trial in the official Register. Out of these, and his memories of the burning of the Martyr, he then composed the narrative which we have.

This, of course, is imaginative reconstruction rather than scientific criticism, but some explanation of this literature is needed which will do justice to the marks of genuineness in it, as well as to the occasional inconsistencies and exaggerations.

NOTES TO EUPHEMIA.

Most of the observations that I had to make upon *Euphemia* will be found above, pp. 70—77 for the text, and pp. 48—65 for the subject matter. I add here four detached observations for which no other satisfactory place offered itself.

§ 1 (Page 129, l. 5), also § 34 (Page 145, l. 24) and § 46 (Page 153, l. 8): see Syriac text **ܕܒܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** 6, **ܕܒܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** 16, **ܕܒܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** 5.

In these three places we have evidently the same Syriac phrase. There is no variant in § 1: both L and P have **ܕܒܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** and this is also the text of P in § 34 and § 46. But both in § 34 and in § 46 L has **ܕܒܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** for **ܕܒܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ**, thereby assimilating the phrase to the Peshiṭta text of Psalm CXLV 19. The Greek gives no help: in § 1 it follows the Greek Psalter (*θέλημα τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν ποιήσει*) and paraphrases in § 34 and § 46.

There can be little doubt that the reading of P is to be preferred, and that the scribe of L was influenced by the familiar words of the Psalm. For the idiom see the Life of Simeon Stylites (*Assemani* II 340 = *Bedjan* IV 611): Elijah prayed and the Lord “did for him a pleasure”. Other examples are collected in Payne Smith, *s.v.* **ܕܒܪܐ**.

§ 1 (Page 129, l. 6 f.) *The quotation from 1 Peter v 7.* This quotation occurs in both Syriac MSS and agrees verbally with the Peshiṭta: short as it is, it contains a reading found nowhere but in Syriac, *viz.* the substitution of 'God' for 'He'. It is assigned in L to 'the divine Apostle Paul', but P knows better and leaves the name of Paul out. The whole quotation is omitted in the Greek, probably because the unfamiliar reading 'God' together with the mistaken ascription to 'Paul' made the passage unidentifiable to the translator.

As explained above, p. 57, it is hardly possible to date the first writing down of *Euphemia* before the death of Rabbula (435), and by that time the present Peshiṭta New Testament, which included 1 Peter, was well established in Edessa. But perhaps a trace of the comparative unfamiliarity to Syriac ears of this part of new the Canon may be detected in the substitution of 'Paul' for 'Peter'.

§ 4 (Page 131, l. 4) *The Foederati.* The Syriac is ܠܘܕܝܢܐ (so L): P reads ܠܘܕܝܢܐܐ, i.e. a plural, but the word is a transliteration of *βοήθεια*, and the only other passage where it seems to occur in Syriac supports the singular. This passage is *Bedjan* III 298₁₆ (Sergius and Bacchus): the prisoners were to be transported from one city to another ܘܠܘܕܝܢܐܐ ܠܘܕܝܢܐܐ, by a *βοήθεια* of the *τάξις*. What this means in technical language is not very easy to say; the ancient Latin version (*Acta SS.* for Oct. 7) says *per singula officia ciuitatum*. My colleague Professor Bury tells me that the *τάξις* would be the staff of a provincial Governor, and also referred me to the use of *Γοσθινὴ βοήθεια* in Malalas (e.g. 369 and 374).

In 369 we read that the Governor of Antioch sent a Γοτθικὴ βοήθεια to fetch the corpse of Simeon Stylites.

From the context in *Euphemia* § 4 it is evident that the ܠܗܝܠܐ (Βοήθεια) was composed of Goths in Roman pay. The word is not used by Joshua Stylites. As noticed on p. 52, the Greek altogether leaves out this reference to Byzantine military organization.

§ 41 (Page 150, l. 22 = Syriac text ܠܗܝܠܐ). The three names *Shmona* and *Guria* and *Habbib* are here vocalized in L

ܠܗܝܠܐ ܘܟܘܪܝܐ ܘܗܒܝܒ

This apparently indicates a pronunciation

Shmūnā, Gūrya, Ḥa(b)bīv.

On the forms in which *Habbib* appears in Greek, see *v. Dobschütz*, p. 230. The other two Saints become Σαμωνᾶς and Γουρίασ. It is clear from Syriac poetry that both *Shmona* and *Guria* (*Gur-ya*) are each words of two syllables, not of three, but so far as I know there is very little direct evidence to determine whether the first syllable was pronounced *o* or *u*. According to the Jacobite system of vocalisation every *o* becomes *u*, so that no help could be looked for from Codex P. The Greek evidence and L agree as to *Guria*, but they appear to differ as to *Shmona* (-*una*). I do not know with what vowel ܠܗܝܠܐ, the mother of the seven Maccabean Martyrs (2 Macc VII), ought to be pronounced.

والله اعلم

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., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 5 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 10 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 15 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 20 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .
 ., מן תהיה מל תורה . יש תורה .

The story of the Merchant of Harran is given here from Codex L (B.M. Add. 14649), *fol.* 121r—122v. It is also extant in B.M. Add. 12174 (dated A.D. 1197), but the variations did not seem to me worth recording.

APPENDIX

1857 12/10 12/10 12/10

אֲחֵרֵי , כִּי : אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 5 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 10 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 15 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי

2 אֲחֵרֵי] P אֲחֵרֵי 3 P אֲחֵרֵי 4 אֲחֵרֵי LP*]
 P^{corr} אֲחֵרֵי , אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי] P אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי : אֲחֵרֵי
 אֲחֵרֵי , אֲחֵרֵי 5 אֲחֵרֵי] P אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 P אֲחֵרֵי 6 אֲחֵרֵי] P אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי
 8 אֲחֵרֵי] P אֲחֵרֵי 9 אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי] P אֲחֵרֵי P
 L אֲחֵרֵי (sic) 10 אֲחֵרֵי] P < P אֲחֵרֵי
 10-12 אֲחֵרֵי... אֲחֵרֵי] P אֲחֵרֵי 13 אֲחֵרֵי]
 P אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי] P < 14 אֲחֵרֵי] P <
 16 אֲחֵרֵי] P , אֲחֵרֵי

. אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ וְהַיְבֵשֶׁת וְהַיָּם . אֲשֶׁר
 חָלַל בְּכָל הַיָּם וְהַיְבֵשֶׁת . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ
 . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 5 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 10 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 15 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .
 אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ . אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ .

2] P < אֲשֶׁר 4 P : see p. אֲשֶׁר] P <
 אֲשֶׁר 6 חָלַל] P < 7 P חָלַל 8-9 ... בְּ
 אֲשֶׁר] P < 9 אֲשֶׁר] P < 10 אֲשֶׁר] P <
 12 אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר 12-13 אֲשֶׁר ... אֲשֶׁר]
 P < 13 אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר] P
 14 אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר 15 אֲשֶׁר] P <
 17 אֲשֶׁר] P ≈ 18 P אֲשֶׁר P אֲשֶׁר

פכככ כככ : ככככ כככ כככ כככ כככ כככ כככ כככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 30 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 10 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 31 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 15 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ
 ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ ככככ

1 P ככככ 2 ככככ ככככ] P ככככ 3 כככככככ
 P < א ,ככככ] P כככככככ 4 כככככככ
 P < כככככככ] P ,כככככככ כככככככ
 5 ככככ] P ככככ P כככככככ כככככככ 6 P כככככככ
 P כככככככ 7 ,ככככ] P < 8 כככככככ] P < כ
 10 P כככככככ 10, 11 P כככככככ כככככככ 11 P
 כככככככ כככככככ P כככככככ כככככככ 13 כככככככ
 P כככככככ P כככככככ 14 כככככככ] P כככככככ
 16 כככככככ] P < כככככככ] P ככככככככככככככ (sic)

למתן תורה על לבתיה . דכמביה נאמרינן וכו' .
 עלה ביה שכינה . הנאמרו כדכתיב . וכו' .
 למתן תורה למתן : שם שם כתיב וכו' .
 חלוקה . וכו' . וכו' . וכו' . וכו' .
 5 ארבעה עשרה וכו' . וכו' . וכו' . וכו' .
 למתן תורה . וכו' . וכו' . וכו' .
 וכו' . וכו' . וכו' . וכו' .
 וכו' . וכו' . וכו' . וכו' .
 10 וכו' . וכו' . וכו' . וכו' .
 וכו' . וכו' . וכו' . וכו' .
 וכו' . וכו' . וכו' . וכו' .
 25 וכו' . וכו' . וכו' . וכו' .
 15 וכו' . וכו' . וכו' . וכו' .

1 [דכמביה] P + וכו' . וכו' .
 2 [L* < a] וכו' .
 3 [שכינה] P וכו' .
 4 [כדכתיב] P + , וכו' .
 5-6 [ארבעה עשרה] P וכו' .
 7 [שכינה] P + וכו' .
 8 P וכו'
 9 P וכו' .
 10 P וכו' .
 12 P וכו' .
 14 P וכו' .
 15 [מתן] P וכו' .

: תיכא תחאָעס טאָ דיגאַר קיגאַר און קראַ
 15 : קיגאַר קעכע תחששח תיגאָעס פֿאַר דיגאַר
 . תחשח , יב, דיגאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר
 פֿאַר תחשח . פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר
 5 דיגאַר . פֿאַר תחשח פֿאַר פֿאַר . . . , יב, תחשח פֿאַר
 תחשח דיגאַר פֿאַר . פֿאַר תחשח תחשח פֿאַר פֿאַר
 . פֿאַר תחשח תחשח פֿאַר , פֿאַר . פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר
 תחשח תחשח . , תחשח פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר
 פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר 24

10 : , תחשח תחשח תחשח תחשח .
 . פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר
 פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר
 . פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר
 פֿאַר : און פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר

1 דיגאַר] P + תחשח P תחאָעס 2 P תחשח
 תיגאָעס פֿאַר] P < 3 פֿאַר פֿאַר] P < פֿאַר 4 פֿאַר] P פֿאַר
 4, 5 פֿאַר פֿאַר] P פֿאַר פֿאַר 5 , יב,] P < דיגאַר
 פֿאַר] P ~ L תחשח 6 פֿאַר] P + און
 7 און פֿאַר פֿאַר] P פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר
 P פֿאַר פֿאַר 8 פֿאַר פֿאַר] P פֿאַר פֿאַר
 פֿאַר P פֿאַר 9 פֿאַר] P + און
 פֿאַר] P פֿאַר 10 P פֿאַר , תחשח 12 פֿאַר
 P pr. פֿאַר פֿאַר] P < 14 פֿאַר פֿאַר
 P פֿאַר . פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר 14-1 פֿאַר
 פֿאַר . . .] P פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר פֿאַר

. מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָתָא קָדָם לְמַעַבְדָּא מִתְּחִילָה , הִתְחִיל
. קְדָמָה קָדָם אִתְּחִילָה לְמַעַבְדָּא מִתְּחִילָה קָדָם
לְמַעַבְדָּא מִתְּחִילָה . מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה לְמַעַבְדָּא
הִתְחִילָה הִתְחִילָה לְמַעַבְדָּא . הִתְחִילָה לְמַעַבְדָּא
. מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה . מִתְּחִילָה לְמַעַבְדָּא מִתְּחִילָה 5
מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה לְמַעַבְדָּא מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה
, מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה , מִתְּחִילָה : מִתְּחִילָה אִתְּחִילָה
הִתְחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה . מִתְּחִילָה
אִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה לְמַעַבְדָּא מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה
23 מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה לְמַעַבְדָּא מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה 10
מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה . מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה
מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה . מִתְּחִילָה
מִתְּחִילָה : מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה
מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה , מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה
. מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה . מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה 15
. מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה : מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה

1 LP , הִתְחִיל מִתְּחִילָה] P + הִתְחִיל 2 P מִתְּחִיל
מִתְּחִילָה] P מִתְּחִילָה (sic) מִתְּחִילָה] L^{corr} מִתְּחִילָה (vid),
P מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה P מִתְּחִילָה 3 מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה]
P מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה 4 מִתְּחִילָה] P < 7 , מִתְּחִילָה] P <
8 מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה] P מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה] P <
9 מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה] P + מִתְּחִילָה לְמַעַבְדָּא מִתְּחִילָה] P א
מִתְּחִילָה] P מִתְּחִילָה 13 מִתְּחִילָה] P + מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה]
P + מִתְּחִילָה 14 מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה] P מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה] P הִתְחִיל
15 מִתְּחִילָה] P מִתְּחִילָה מִתְּחִילָה] P + , מִתְּחִילָה

אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 5 21 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 10 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה
 15 22 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה כְּעֵת הַיְהוּדִים . וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה

1 אֲשֶׁר] P < אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר
 2, 3 אֲשֶׁר] P ~ אֲשֶׁר] P + אֲשֶׁר
 4 L אֲשֶׁר 5 אֲשֶׁר] P < אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר
 6 אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר] P < אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר
 8 אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר] P
 P אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר] P < אֲשֶׁר] P < אֲשֶׁר] P <
 12 אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר] P < אֲשֶׁר] P <
 אֲשֶׁר] P < אֲשֶׁר] P + אֲשֶׁר] P אֲשֶׁר] P
 P < P אֲשֶׁר] P < אֲשֶׁר] P <

קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קִיָּם . דִּימָה קְהִלָּה קִיָּם מִיָּד
 קָמַתְּ . קְהִלָּה קְהִלָּה קְהִלָּה : דִּימָה קְהִלָּה
 מִיָּד קִיָּם . מִיָּד קִיָּם מִיָּד מִיָּד מִיָּד
 קִיָּם קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ
 5 קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ . קָמַתְּ
 קָמַתְּ קָמַתְּ : קָמַתְּ , קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ
 . קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ : קָמַתְּ קָמַתְּ
 דִּימָה קָמַתְּ : דִּימָה קָמַתְּ 16
 מִיָּד קָמַתְּ קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ קָמַתְּ
 10 קָמַתְּ : מִיָּד קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ :
 מִיָּד קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ . מִיָּד קָמַתְּ
 קָמַתְּ . דִּימָה קָמַתְּ : דִּימָה קָמַתְּ
 . דִּימָה קָמַתְּ , דִּימָה קָמַתְּ : קָמַתְּ
 מִיָּד קָמַתְּ קָמַתְּ קָמַתְּ קָמַתְּ
 15 קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ קָמַתְּ . קָמַתְּ
 קָמַתְּ . קָמַתְּ קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ

1 קִיָּם קְהִלָּה קָמַתְּ] P + אִתְּ 2 P קְהִלָּה
 קְהִלָּה קְהִלָּה (= σχῆμα δουλικόν 6)] P^{corr} קְהִלָּה קְהִלָּה (P*vid
 ///יקָ), L^{nunc} קְהִלָּה קְהִלָּה on eras. 4 קָמַתְּ] P <
 5 קָמַתְּ] P קְהִלָּה קָמַתְּ L מִיָּד קָמַתְּ 2°]
 P אִתְּ 6 , אִתְּ קָמַתְּ] P קָמַתְּ מִיָּד קָמַתְּ
 7 מִיָּד] P + קְהִלָּה 8 L קָמַתְּ קָמַתְּ 10 P
 קְהִלָּה 12 דִּימָה] P < 13 אִתְּ , קָמַתְּ] P < 14 P
 קָמַתְּ 15 מִיָּד] P מִיָּד : מִיָּד קָמַתְּ
 16 P מִיָּד

⋆ ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⋆

1 ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 5 ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 10 ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 2 ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ

Variants of the Paris MS (B. N. Syr. 234) = P.

Title in P: ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ
 ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| 3 P ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ | 5 P ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲟⲩ | 6 P < ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲟⲩ |
| 8 P < ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ | P ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ | 9 P ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ |
| P ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ | 10 P < ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ | ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ |
| P ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ | 11 P < ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ | 12 P < ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ |
| ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ | P < | |

נח שפא אפמאן בליץ : עביב ארזי . אנה דג
 לנח ארזא דליץ זכעמ נח דשפא ערזי אנה :
 דאפמאן בל , כגנא דרזא אנה : נח כחזי מדינא .
 34 יז , ממא מלכא דגלח ממא בל , אפמאן 34
 5 דארזא . סגא ממא סגא אפמאן דלח ארזי .
 בן צלחמ ממא למ . אנה ערזי דארזא . עביב .
 ממא דרזי כחלמא : אנה דנה צלחמ ממא :
 דרזא חוכ לילא . ורז ממא דארזא עמא , נח
 חזי צלחמ ממא נח נח . אנה נח ממא
 10 ממא ערזי דארזא . אנה למ דפמא ממא לילא
 קורמא : דארזא עמא דארזא . אנה
 דארזא חוכ צלחמ ממא ורז ממא . נח דארזא
 ארזא ממא . פמא דארזא צלחמ ממא נח
 35 דארזא עמא . אנה כגנא דארזא . נח דארזא 35
 15 זכעמ . דארזא אנה דארזא ממא נח
 סגא ממא אנה דארזא צלחמ ממא .
 אנה דארזא דארזא דארזא חוכ לילא .
 צלחמ ממא דגמ ממא אנה למ אנה אנה
 נח ממא . אנה למ ממא למ . אנה דארזא
 20 ממא דארזא . דארזא נח דארזא דארזא .
 אנה ממא דארזא : נח דארזא חוכ אנה
 אנה . אנה דגמ אנה חוכ אנה ממא
 36 בנה . אנה דארזא דגמ דארזא , דארזא 36
 ממא למ . ממא אנה דארזא . אנה דארזא

כונעא . לאלמא דג דעמל פליא א קמא כונעא ו' 26
 אגא וזעבוב אגא :: מ זעבוב אגא . אגא זעבוב
 דפמא זעבוב זעבוב . אגא , דאגא כונעא דעמל , מ .
 א זעבוב אגא דאגא זעבוב . אגא לא זעבוב אגא לא
 זעבוב :: זעבוב אגא . לא זעבוב דאגא זעבוב
 זעבוב זעבוב אגא אגא זעבוב אגא . אגא זעבוב
 זעבוב זעבוב אגא , זעבוב כונעא לא זעבוב ::
 מ זעבוב אגא . אגא זעבוב אגא אגא זעבוב זעבוב 27
 אגא לא זעבוב זעבוב זעבוב זעבוב : מ , דאגא זעבוב
 זעבוב כונעא . זעבוב אגא . מ זעבוב אגא זעבוב
 אגא זעבוב זעבוב זעבוב זעבוב זעבוב . אגא
 אגא זעבוב זעבוב זעבוב זעבוב , אגא אגא זעבוב
 אגא :: מ זעבוב אגא . אגא זעבוב אגא זעבוב 28
 אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא . אגא זעבוב אגא זעבוב
 אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא 15
 אגא . לא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא . אגא
 אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא
 אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא
 אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא 29
 אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא 20
 זעבוב . אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא
 אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא
 אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא
 אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא
 אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא :

בא דלא קיצורא לפסגא דגלגל. דמא א
דנא דאזכורא קאלא רבבא דנא. בביא בא
פסגא. כמ, דלא בביא ל, מוס דפסגא ל

23 קאלא :: מלכא אכז. בא דאזכורא זנא בביא

5 אכז דמבא. א לביא מלכא :: עבב.

אכז. אלא לא דנא, רבבא, רבבא, רבבא, רבבא
ילא כמא. אלא לביא דאזכורא זנא
בביא. א זנא מלכא כמא. אלא מ

24 אכז דמבא, דאזכורא. מלכא אכז. לא

10 אכז. ל מלכא דאזכורא: מלכא דמבא דמבא

אכז. רבבא רבבא רבבא רבבא רבבא: אכז

מלכא דמבא קאלא :: עבב. אכז. אלא לא

אכז דמבא רבבא: אכז. אלא לא מלכא אכז

24a אכז מלכא :: מלכא אכז. אלא מלכא

15 אלא למלכא לקל. כמא בביא. אכז בא אלא כ

למלכא דלא שביא למלכא. רבבא אלא כ קאלא.

בא דאזכורא בא פסגא :: עבב. אכז. לא דלא

אלא מלכא דמבא אלא לא כמ. אלא לביא דנא

מלכא מלכא. לא מלכא כמא כמא מלכא מלכא

20 אכז מלכא: מלכא מלכא מלכא מלכא ::

25 מלכא אכז. אלא לביא שביא אלא רבבא

אכז. רבבא מלכא לא לביא דאזכורא ל

רבבא :: עבב. אכז. לביא לא שביא אלא

מלכא. אכז. לביא לא שביא אלא

רבבא. מלכא לביא מלכא דאזכורא בא

רבבא. מלכא לביא מלכא דאזכורא בא

כחלם דתבך. אנה זבדו אנה זיניק: מלם דעני
 כוהש מנה: הנה דתלם מנה. מנפדו אנה אדניק:
 דעניק נעשע דתלם הנה דתק: עבויב אדני.
 אנה מן בלם אנה לאלמ. מן דזפד אנה
 5 מן מידק. הנה זבדו מן כולדק. דה דהכ.
 19e מן דזפד אנה מן: מן זבדו אנה. זבדו מן
 בלם דאדניק בלם. מנפד מנה דנה דנה
 דנה מנה אנה מן דנה זק דנעשע דים ל
 מנה. אנה אנה דזיסק אנה מן זבדו אנה
 10 למ. עבויב אנה אנה דנעשע מן זבדו
 דנעשע: הנה זבדו לבדו. זיניק
 זבדו מן אלמ. אנה דנעשע זיניק דוכו
 זב. מן מנה. זבדו דלכל מן. דזפד אנה
 20 מן זבדו אנה, מנה, מנה, דנה, זיסק
 מן למ זבדו מן למ. מנה אנה אנה דזפד
 15 זבדו: זבדו דנעשע מנה, אנה, אנה
 למ מן זבדו אנה זבדו מנה: מנה זבדו אנה:
 21 זבדו מן זבדו אנה. עבויב אנה. מנה זבדו
 מלם לל אנה זבדו לל: מנה זבדו אנה:
 20 אנה זבדו אנה דנעשע אנה לל: דאנה
 22 מן מן זבדו אנה: מן זבדו אנה
 אנה. זבדו דנעשע מנה מן מלם זבדו
 אנה דנעשע: אנה זבדו אנה. זבדו
 דנעשע דבדו: עבויב אנה. אנה דנה ל

לפסגא דמזימ תלמי. הא דמ לא נמצתב אנא.

כשזמא מזימא זבז אנא לי דמצתב למ. ::

עבוב. אמי. לא נמצתב למ. הא. לא

דמצתב למ. למ שגרא כזבוג. הא לא נ

5 דמי אנא לי כזבוג דקבוע. אפ נמ אילמ דפסגא

19a תלמי :: מלמא אנא אמי. כאלמא זמא אנא.

דא לא דזכמ לא אעבום נזמ דפא נמימי

דלא נמצתב כ. נמימא א פים לי נמימא נ

דשגא אנא למ ::

10 עבוב. אמי. למ אילמ דשגא-גמ למימא

פזמא אנא דכזבוג. דלא נמ למ לבזמא

19b במ כזמא דכזבוג :: מלמא אנא אמי. נמימא

נמימא. כזבוג. נמימא דלא נמימא דמא דמא

כזבוג. דלא נמימא כזבוג :: עבוב. אמי. מלמ

15 אילמא דאשכזבוג למ דמימימי כזבוג. למ

נמימא נמימא קלמא דמא. לאילמ דנמימא

19c למ :: מלמא אנא אמי. אנא לאילמא פזמ

אנא למ למ אנא. למ אנא נמימא

אנא למ למ קלמא דמא ::

20 עבוב. אמי. לא דלימ, מ דמא דמצתב למ

מלמ. מלמ דלא נמימא דמצתב פזמ

דמלמ. דלא נמימא אנא. אמימימי אנא ::

19d מלמא אנא אמי. אנא מלמא דמימימי פזמ

1 דאמימימי [N (v. Dobschütz)] דמימימי

ל

מכל דלא פלג אנא למ כתיב אנא למ. בנא
ב כתיב בנא למ למ יא: דלא ממ
כנא דפולא: סנא דנא, ממ סבמ
ממ כתיב:

18 5 נבא עבא ממ ממ דנא אנא אנא ממ. 18
פמ ממ דנא דלא עמ. נבא אנא ממ
מ עמא אנא למ. נבא אנא ממ
לנא: נא דמ לא נבא אנא. נבא
מ אנא למ. נבא נבא אנא כמ: נבא
10 ממ לאנא ממ פמ אנא נבא דנא אנא:
עבוב אנא. ממ לאנא ממ נבא אנא
ממ: נבא אנא כתיב: ממ אנא דנא
ממ נבא כנא דנא. ממ ממ אנא

18a אנא נבא למ: ממ נבא אנא. כממ, כממ
15 דנא דנא. נבא אנא נבא. נבא נבא
ממ אנא למ. נבא לממ. נבא ממ אנא.
נבא אנא נבא. נבא נבא למ
נבא נבא ממ נבא. נבא נבא
20 נבא נבא נבא נבא. נבא נבא
נבא. נבא נבא ממ אנא דנא:

19 כתיב נבא כממ: פמ ממ נבא.
ממ ממ, ממ כממ אנא. ממ ממ למ.
נבא ממ ממ נבא נבא: ממ נבא אנא

כתיבנו את המעשה הזה. ופירשנו את המעשה הזה
ביום הזה ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

14 ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

לעבדך. ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

5 ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

אשר נתנו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

15 ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

10 ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

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ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

16 ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

אשר נתנו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

כמה שנתנו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

20 ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

17 ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך ונתנוהו לך

11 אֲנִי כֹלֵהוּ, אִין אֲנִי מְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ אֲנִי לֵאמֹר: רַב
 עֲבָד. מִן אֲתֵּינָהּ דְּמִנְיָהּ אֲנִי מִן לֵאמֹר. לְבַח
 מִן עֲבָדֵהּ. אֲתֵּינָהּ מִן לֵאמֹר, כִּי-נִשְׁבַּח
 אֲתֵּינָהּ, מִן בְּרַחֲמֵי לְבָבֵיהּ דְּמִנְיָהּ. רַב
 5 מִן אֲתֵּינָהּ. אֲתֵּינָהּ מִן לֵאמֹר דְּמִנְיָהּ
 אֲנִי מִן לֵאמֹר: דְּאֲתֵּינָהּ עֲבָדֵהּ. דְּלֵאמֹר: אֲנִי
 דְּכִבְּרֵהּ מִן לֵאמֹר. אֲתֵּינָהּ מִן לֵאמֹר:
 דְּלֵאמֹר מִן דְּאֲתֵּינָהּ אֲתֵּינָהּ, מִן. רַב
 כִּי אֲנִי דְּאֲתֵּינָהּ, מִן: אֲנִי לֵאמֹר דְּמִנְיָהּ.
 10 מִן כְּמִינֵיהּ אֲתֵּינָהּ לֵאמֹר דְּלֵאמֹר דְּאֲנִי
 12 בְּ לֵאמֹר אֲנִי אֲתֵּינָהּ. רַב עֲבָדֵהּ מִן לֵאמֹר:
 אֲתֵּינָהּ מִן לֵאמֹר, עֲבָדֵהּ. מִן אֲתֵּינָהּ
 מִן דְּמִנְיָהּ אֲתֵּינָהּ: רַב עֲבָדֵהּ חַלְשֵׁי
 מְעַבְּרֵהּ אֲנִי לֵאמֹר. מִן לֵאמֹר דְּמִנְיָהּ: לֵאמֹר
 15 וְדִן דְּמִנְיָהּ, מִן לֵאמֹר. אֲנִי לֵאמֹר דְּמִנְיָהּ
 מִן מִן, מִן אֲתֵּינָהּ דְּמִנְיָהּ, מִן, מִן
 מִן. אֲנִי וְדִן מִן לֵאמֹר דְּמִנְיָהּ: אֲנִי
 דְּאֲתֵּינָהּ, מִן, מִן, מִן, מִן, מִן, מִן.
 20 רַב עֲבָדֵהּ מִן לֵאמֹר: דְּאֲתֵּינָהּ, מִן לֵאמֹר:
 דְּכִבְּרֵהּ דְּמִנְיָהּ: מִן מִן מִן אֲתֵּינָהּ. מִן
 מִן מִן, מִן אֲתֵּינָהּ. אֲנִי מִן מִן דְּמִנְיָהּ
 מִן לֵאמֹר. דְּכִבְּרֵהּ דְּמִנְיָהּ דְּאֲתֵּינָהּ לֵאמֹר
 דְּכִבְּרֵהּ מִן לֵאמֹר דְּמִנְיָהּ. אֲנִי מִן מִן

כתיב קדושים קדושים קדושים

1 כתיב קדושים קדושים קדושים : כתיב קדושים קדושים קדושים
קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
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קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
10 קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
15 2 עבדך קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים
20 קדושים קדושים קדושים : קדושים קדושים קדושים

וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי : כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי
 וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי : כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי
 וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי : כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי
 וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי : כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי

: כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי

וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי : כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי
 וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי : כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי

וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי

2 כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי] J + כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי : כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי
 וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי : כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי
 וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי : כִּי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי וְכִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי

דכד, דמלך מלך א-י-ש. כלל א-י-ש. כלל א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, ד-י-ש, מלך א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 כלל א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 5: א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.

48 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 10 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.

49 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 15 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.

50 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 20 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.
 א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש, א-י-ש.

42 מן הקמח הוא ללבוש המנחה , והוא :
 5 מנחת אכילת המנחה : למנוח : המנחה המנחה המנחה
המנחה : המנחה המנחה המנחה המנחה המנחה
 5 המנחה המנחה המנחה המנחה המנחה המנחה
המנחה המנחה המנחה המנחה : המנחה המנחה המנחה
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המנחה המנחה המנחה המנחה : המנחה המנחה המנחה

10 43 המנחה המנחה המנחה : המנחה המנחה המנחה
המנחה המנחה המנחה : המנחה המנחה המנחה
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 15 המנחה המנחה המנחה : המנחה המנחה המנחה
המנחה המנחה המנחה : המנחה המנחה המנחה
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 20 המנחה המנחה המנחה : המנחה המנחה המנחה
המנחה המנחה המנחה : המנחה המנחה המנחה
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44 המנחה המנחה המנחה : המנחה המנחה המנחה

למען יתעלה עמך ויברך את ישראל ויבטח עליהם
כדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבדילך ויבטחך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך

41 כדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך
וכדבריך ויגדלך ויחשבך ויבטחך ויבדילך

18 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵאֵלָּהּ מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

19 מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵאֵלָּהּ מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי

5 מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵאֵלָּהּ מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי

כְּשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵאֵלָּהּ מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵאֵלָּהּ מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

10 מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

לְּאֵל מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

15 מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

20 מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי מִלִּי : וְכֵן אֵל

10 J אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵאֵלָּהּ : see ASD 47¹⁸. 16 [אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵאֵלָּהּ]

1

מען האט דאס געזאגט: דער דאס איז פון די מען
און די מען איז דערנא. די דערנא איז פון די מען
די מען: און די מען איז פון די מען, ::

11 און די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

12 די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

13 און די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

14 די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

10 די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

די מען: די מען

15 די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

15 די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

16 די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

[די מען] די מען איז פון די מען

די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

20 די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

17 די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

די מען: די מען איז פון די מען

כִּי־אֵלֹהִים כְּבֹדָתָם כְּתוּבָה

,מִי־אֵלֹהִים כְּבֹדָתָם

1 מִתְּחִלָּה כִּי־עָשְׂתָהּ כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד
 הַיָּמָנִית [כִּי־עָשְׂתָהּ]. כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית
 הַיָּמָנִית אֵת הַיְמָנִית מִתְּחִלָּה כִּי־עָשְׂתָהּ 5
 : כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית
 כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית [: הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית
 כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית . כִּי־אֵלֹהִים כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית
 כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית : כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית
 כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית : כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית 10
 כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית : כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית
 כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית . אֵת הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית
 כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית . אֵת הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית
 כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית . אֵת הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית . אֵת הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית
 אֵת הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית אֵת הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית אֵת הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית 15
 2 מִתְּחִלָּה כִּי־עָשְׂתָהּ כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית . כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית
 כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית : כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית

6 כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית = J (text.) J (mg.) כִּי־אֵלֹהִים

10 כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית] J + כְּכֹחַ הַיָּד הַיְמָנִית

זמנא א גוריא

J = Cod. Jacobitarum Hierosolymitarum, *saec.* XV,
edited by Rahmani.

Where the text as here printed differs from J, the reading of J is given in all cases in the foot-notes: for a justification of these departures the reader is referred to the Notes on the Translation.

Words and passages are enclosed in brackets when, in the opinion of the present editor, it is unlikely that they formed part of the original narrative.

מבוא

N = Cod. Nitriensis, B.M. Add. 14645, dated 936 A.D.

אמפריא

L = Cod. Nitriensis nunc Londoniensis, B.M. Add. 14649, *saec.* IX.

P = Cod. Parisiensis, B.N. Fonds syriaque 234, *saec.* XIII.

Unless otherwise stated, the text printed is that of L. All variations of P are recorded in the footnotes.

In all three parts Ⓔ (Ⓔ¹, Ⓔ²) signify select readings from the Greek versions printed by v. Dobschütz. In Shmona and Guria a few readings are given from Ⓐ, the Armenian version.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, possibly a signature or a name, located in the center of the page.



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